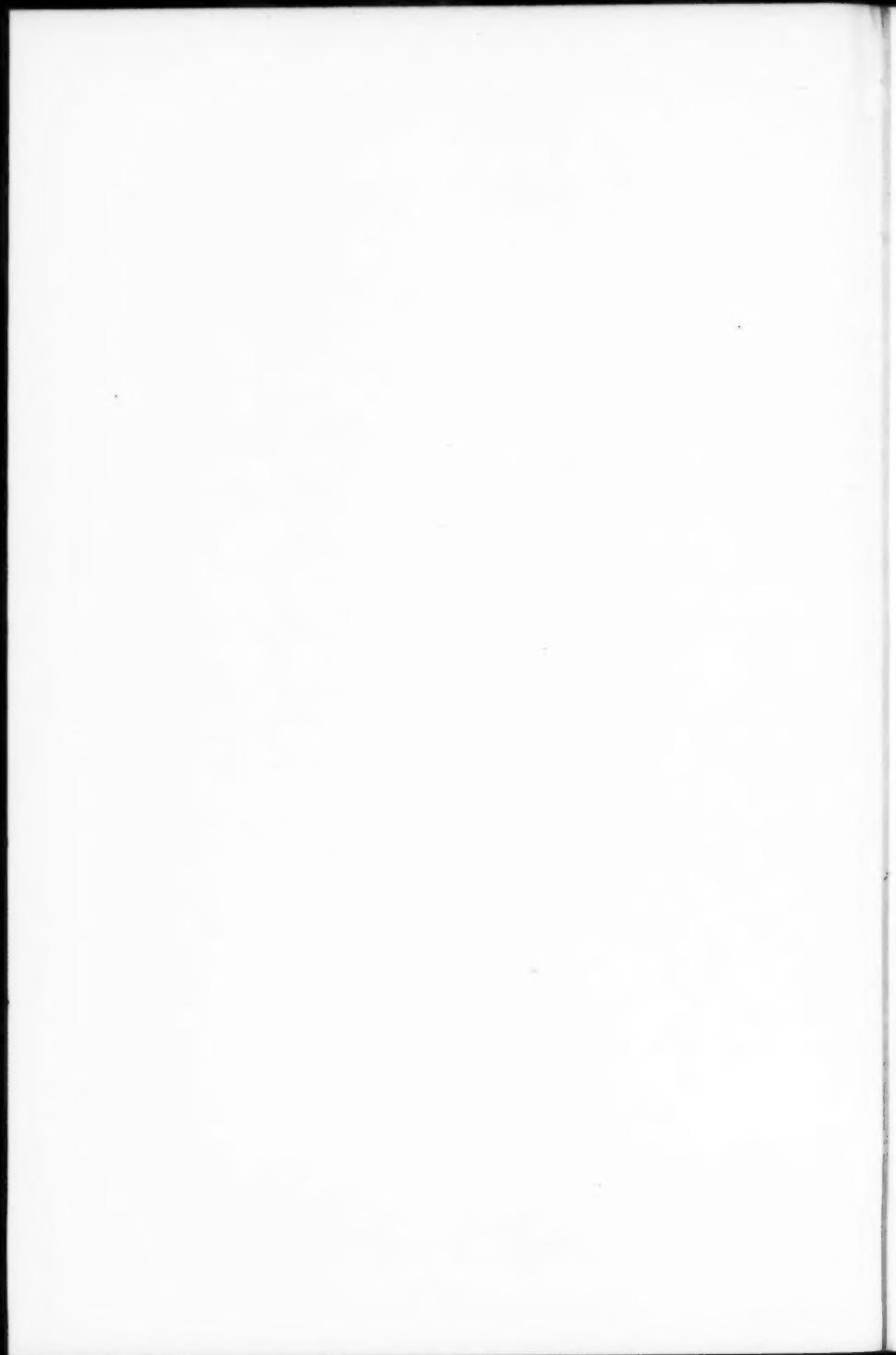


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## THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TWIN CITIES FOR MINNESOTA HISTORY<sup>1</sup>

History cannot be written without a philosophy of occurrence or an interpretation of change. So-called scientific or objective history is an unattainable ideal. And it is so from the very start, for the historian's choice of a topic, of a district, or of an age displays a personal interest. The arrangement of data is consciously or unconsciously actually based upon a conception of influence.

Since there is no escape from a philosophy of history, it behooves us to know the possibilities open to us. Of the score or more of alleged interpretations, three have been outstanding in the writing of American history.

It was George Bancroft who made most striking use of the theistic interpretation, and the note so early struck goes ringing on through the years. There is a divinity that steers our course, especially the path of a chosen people. It is conveniently possible for any nation to elect itself to a special place by the side of the deity. Charles Francis Adams thought it was the gods that intervened on behalf of the North in the Civil War. The strength of the northern navy, the size of the wheat crops, the superior economic system of the northern states were little or nothing to him in the face of this unseen influence exerted particularly to secure the neutrality of England.

Such an interpretation can be made to justify America's ruthless treatment of the Indians, for the responsibility is put upon the divine guide. It can justify the whole course of exploitation from Atlantic to Pacific and can even carry out to sea as far as the Philippines, for all this has been but the "manifest destiny" of a divinely chosen people. Business men have demanded that America "clean up" Mexico. Already the

<sup>1</sup> This paper was read on January 11 as the annual address of the seventy-seventh annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society. *Ed.*

same group looks anxiously to distant parts for supplies of rubber, tin, pulp wood, and petroleum. Any high-handed action taken abroad could be palliated by the old lotion for conscience, our "manifest destiny." As we gain a more international point of view, however, we shall see that such a stand is not only the simple philosophy of an immature people, but the crude theology of a primitive stage in human history. It is a religious idealistic gloss on the page of a selfish story.

The diffusionist interpretation somewhat follows the theistic in point of time. It has the virtue of at least being honest, putting no blame upon the deity. This school believes that culture arises in one part of the world and diffuses or spreads to other parts, for instance, from Egypt or Babylonia to Asia Minor, to Greece, to Rome, to medieval Italian cities, to France and Spain, to the Netherlands and England, and finally to America. It is well illustrated by Herbert B. Adams' theory of the Teutonic origin of New England town meetings. Anglophiles regard American institutions as Anglo-Saxon offshoots growing in a congenial soil. Socialists see at least a spiritual inheritance in the development of class differences similar to those in the Old World. "American history begins in Europe," the diffusionists contend. And indeed they find no difficulty in illustrating their view, whether in politics or law, economics or education, art or religion, elements of liberalism or of intolerance.

Migration from Europe to America took away from the homeland a little capital and a good deal of economic enterprise. But it also rid Europe of much intolerance, from which America has suffered greatly. It has been said that the two European contributions to American life meet in our evangelical capitalism, as intolerant on the side of social reconstruction as on the side of personal conduct and belief; in other words, that our inheritance of prohibition, Klanism, fundamentalism, and socialist baiting has been Europe's purge. And to make it worse for us, the same nonconformist class drove out and dispossessed the loyalist landowning aristocracy, a group

sorely needed in a balanced state. Then it fought a Civil War, robbing another group of its property. One of the worst aspects of that war was the deception that the war was fought to maintain the Union rather than to free the slaves. But perhaps a deeper prying into the psychological founts of the time would show that the war was waged neither for the Union nor for the slave, but to dispossess the landed proprietor of the South. What the Puritans objected to was possibly not so much the pain of the slaves as the pleasure of the owners. It seems, then, that European diffusionism has played us tricks — its gift of a golden apple has borne a canker worm that lives on as a secret crusader against the serenity of an otherwise fortunate people.

The spread or diffusion of civilization westward within the widening confines of America itself also abundantly illustrates the contention of the diffusionists. Boston fires burn brightly in the Twin Cities; Virginian recipes are followed in Kentucky and Missouri. Indeed the diffusion of culture on the American mainland is comparable to the spread of Greek civilization in the days of the Macedonian and to the extension of the Anglo-Celtic culture to all parts of the British Empire.

Another school, equally mundane and equally sure of itself, has been called, by way of contrast, confusionism. The idea is that civilization does not spread but arises afresh, without any orderly flow. Civilization is really exsurgent: it springs from the soil of each peculiar situation. American civilization, according to this view, pours forth, geyser-like, from the conditions in America itself.

There have been various declarations of independence. The first was political, during the Revolutionary War. The second was commercial, after the War of 1812. The third has been cultural — American civilization arises out of American life. American civilization is not parasitic; it is wholly American. The Turner school, with its emphasis on one aspect, is an illustration of the exsurgent interpretation. The economic interpretation is much broader but of the same general type.

According to the economic interpretation civilization was submerged in pioneer days and rises again as towns and cities come into being and grow strong. The getting of a living is the primary situation; all else in the long run is derivative.

As I see it, there is no real conflict between the diffusionists and the confusionists. Whenever there is colonization, there is obviously diffusion. After that has taken place, the confusionist force is increasingly potent. Then, as civilization develops, unevenly of course, the accumulated wisdom and experience of the older parts are diffused in the newer ambitious districts. Thus Minnesota history is the equilibrium between what comes in and what grows up. Its own culture is fundamentally material. On that base, its higher culture may rest securely. Its clergy, its judges, its bankers, its professors, cannot go much beyond the soil's yield. Where an effort is made to do so, there is failure.

In the writing of Minnesota's history Indian wars and politics have been put first, then economic considerations have found a place, and as a rather poor third stands higher culture. The outstanding fact is that the economic history of Minnesota has not been neglected. But it is in part the thesis of this paper that the study and writing of it have been scrappy, amateurish, and undirected. There has apparently been a feeling that economic history is important, though there has been little analysis of the whole field. We have had useful studies of lumbering, transportation, mining, agriculture, and banking, but no synthetic study of the whole has apparently been published.<sup>2</sup> In real life the business of banking and that of farming are closely connected, as also are transportation and industry, mining and manufacture, storage and commerce, production and credit. After all, farming is an abstraction in

<sup>2</sup> Since this paper was written the doctoral dissertation of Miss Mildred L. Hartsough, entitled *The Twin Cities as a Metropolitan Market: A Regional Study of the Economic Development of Minneapolis and St. Paul*, has been published (University of Minnesota, *Studies in the Social Sciences*, no. 18—Minneapolis, 1925). It is the pioneer book in the field of the synthetic presentation of the economic history of the Northwest.

these days of close connection with railways, warehouses, and banks.

In the development of Minnesota's economic history there are three aspects which have never been separately visualized, to say nothing of being integrated into one larger story. They are the opening of the rural parts for lumbering, farming, and mining; the growth of towns; and the development of the Twin Cities as the towering magnetic influence in the whole state. It is to the grand totality of economic effort, as centered in the Twin Cities, that I wish to call special attention. Production is a great coöperative enterprise into which we are born as a matter of course, with which we are so familiar that we can have no ready appreciation of its nature. The economic life of the state, radiating out from and concentrated in this single metropolitan community, is carried on according to precedents and practice. It has no code and no constitution. Like the waves, it undulates irregularly, obeying the law of its own nature. It is an unplanned consummation of social or group endeavor, in which the individual plays the part of cog or wheel, belt or shaft. Periodically the great machine breaks down as the business cycle comes to that part of its existence known as the crisis or hard times. Such are indeed the great landmarks in the informal coöperation of which I speak. In Minnesota history the years 1857, 1873, 1893, and 1920 attract the attention even of the historian who is otherwise immersed in wars and elections, individual biographies, and party changes. But this is a journalistic interest that singles out the unusual and catastrophic as the important and vital. It is comparable to the attitude of American newspapers which recently carried big headlines about the exclusion of one English representative to the meeting of the interparliamentary union at Washington, while they left almost unnoticed the proceedings of the scores of statesmen who actually arrived and seriously discussed the world's affairs. The hard times of the years mentioned were the periods of economic illness. It is not the doings of the sick bed, but of the well and vigorous actor in

the business of getting a living that are worthy of most attention.

We can best understand the metropolitan position of the Twin Cities by following at least in outline the growth of communities in Minnesota and the Northwest. The most remote beginning is to be found in the rise of trading posts, such as Mendota, Fond du Lac, and Pembina, with their distant connections north and south. Such outposts are small in population and narrow in the scope of their activities. They are the tentacles of a distant and often very powerful group of traders who care nothing for the upbuilding of the country but much about the profits to be realized in trade. No commonwealth could have built upon such establishments. They were like the tents of the Indians which could be folded up and moved away.

The towns were more permanent. On the Mississippi, the Minnesota, and the St. Croix small groups of settlers arose to serve their own interests. The inhabitants of these settlements came to engage in trade, to manufacture, to push back the Indians, to build up a closely knitted group of citizens for a common purpose. Here the needs of all classes were catered to, not only the trappers but also the farmers, not only the Indians but the whites as well. Here arose that easy optimism that promised long life, great happiness, and splendid fortune to those wise persons who remained in the community to share the great things to come. Where the prospects are actually dark, or at least gray, human nature seems to demand such strong medicaments as tonic to a wavering frame. Hope springs eternal from the necessity of self preservation. But then there really was the possibility that Winona, St. Peter, Stillwater, and the others, would grow like the inland towns of the East — like Albany and Pittsburgh and Cincinnati.

The period from about 1835 to the fifties saw the rise of St. Paul and Minneapolis (St. Anthony) as towns. As is well known, St. Paul's advantage lay in the fact that it was virtually the head of navigation on the Mississippi. It was also

near to Fort Snelling, to Mendota, and to Stillwater. Its first retail store is said to have been set up in 1842. Others soon followed. And in 1849 the American Fur Company removed its headquarters from Mendota to St. Paul. Its progress as a town was continuous. The settlements at the Falls of St. Anthony obviously arose to take advantage of the water power, which was quite adequate for local needs until about 1865. The first commercial lumber mill was started in 1848 and the first commercial grist mill in 1854. The products were used locally or sent down the river.

If we believe in the theistic interpretation of history, we may ascribe the success of St. Paul and St. Anthony to the patronage of higher powers. If we are diffusionists, we will believe that their prosperity was due to the good things that the inhabitants brought with them from the East and the South, that is, their courage, self-confidence, religion, habits of thrift, and capacity for progress. If we are confusionists, we will not be so complimentary either to the deity or to early settlers, for we will see the inhabitants of these towns largely as the creatures of local advantage. To their favorable position arising out of easy navigation and cheap water power must be added a fact of general significance: they were located at a suitable and respectful distance from both St. Louis and Chicago, so that they had room to grow not only as towns but as a great metropolitan community.

Ordinarily we think of the metropolis as the capital of a state, but no such meaning is here intended. The economic metropolis is a large central city in which is concentrated the management of business. In such a city are the big organizations with their ramifications in all the parts of a wide hinterland. In its midst are concentrated not only a large part of the products of the district but also products from other areas, at home or abroad. The metropolitan unit, made up of the Twin Cities as center and the Northwest as hinterland, is really a group of consumers and producers, persons getting a living and solving their own several problems according to the possi-

bilities of the times and the resources of the area. The center and the district are working partners, at times in conflict but in the long run sinking or swimming together.

Unplanned and in answer to no man's bidding, the Twin Cities rose to their position of economic and cultural eminence with little or no help from politics or government. The new organization was in response to the vague and joyous hopes and expectations of some people, but in accordance with the specific plans of no one of them. Certain individuals occupying positions of economic advantage profited more than others from the united efforts of all. In other words there was an unequal distribution of the products of social effort. It is the realization of this fact, stimulated by the knowledge of thefts of timber rights and railroad manipulation, that makes the many, who have not received a large share of the total advantage, think that a grave injustice has been done. If so, then people are just suffering from their lack of foresight. And more of this suffering probably lies right ahead of us, as population presses on subsistence and as real income decreases. We are now learning that the resources of Minnesota and the Northwest are not unlimited. One day our children shall doubtless learn from their elementary school texts that society ultimately has to pay a heavy price for the rapid material advance we have made. So far, America has appeared a great material success, but this is a one-sided judgment and a short-time point of view. With forests gone, best mines exhausted, soil fouled, streams polluted, and rivers reduced to brooks, our descendants will say, what a price to pay for progress!

But we have got something — a great metropolitan community, a number of growing towns existing in dependence on the metropolis, and a great area of countryside producing and enjoying this world's goods. This is the material basis of our northwestern culture.

Into the growth of this economic organization went many separate and individual developments of which the railroads were the most spectacular and not least in importance. Nature

had given man three avenues of transportation and communication, the Red River with the North, the Mississippi with the South, and the Great Lakes with the East. Railroads came in to give victory, absolute and unquestioned, to the eastern avenues and routes. In 1854 an agent was appointed in St. Paul to sell tickets through to Boston and New York. The route was by steamboat to Galena, from there by stage coach for twenty-five miles to the railroad that went to Chicago, and thence through southern Canada and Albany to the coast.<sup>3</sup> In 1867 there was an all-rail route to the East through Milwaukee, and by 1870 a railroad had been built between St. Paul and Duluth. At last there was an ample outlet for local products and a dependable source of supplies. Visitors could come and go. The mail was faster and more regular. At last the feeling of isolation was wearing away. Doubtless many a longing soul found relief in the possible return to home and people. We can never know the psychological effect of such changes.

Just as the period from 1854 to 1870 established an eastern connection, the years from 1879 to 1893 completed the network, not in detail but in outline. Railroads extended north to Winnipeg in 1878, south to St. Louis in 1879, northeast to the Sault in 1888, and west to the Pacific in 1883 and 1893. Here were the possible lines of economic interest. Here were the paths of enterprise. Development and consolidation remained as the slow workaday jobs of succeeding years.

No one would think of the Northwest as a manufacturing district. And yet the Twin Cities have not been idle. Up to 1899 Minneapolis made steady progress in the manufacture of lumber products, and up to yesterday in flour milling. In the manufacture of agricultural machinery and other metal wares the two cities have done not a little. Said an agricultural expert in an English village in August, 1925: "We have five Fordson tractors and three from Minneapolis. The latter are infinitely superior."

<sup>3</sup> *Minnesotian* (St. Paul), May 6, 1854.

Wholesaling has made progress in St. Paul since about 1858 and in Minneapolis since about 1865. While St. Paul has been prominent in the handling of boots and shoes, Minneapolis has been outstanding in grain, hardware, and lumber. Storing wares on a large scale has been necessary for wholesaling, transporting, manufacturing, and uninterrupted consumption. Large amounts of capital are locked up in it and great skill is required for its management. The elevators and flaxseed tanks of Minneapolis and the lumber yards of both cities are notable examples.

The crowning glory of a metropolitan community is finance. The first commercial bank in St. Paul seems to have been started in 1853. From time to time others arose to finance purely local business. It was not until the eighties that Minnesota towns began to turn from New York and Chicago to the Twin Cities for financial aid. In 1889 both Minneapolis and St. Paul became reserve cities. In the last decade of the century chain banks were begun. Since about 1900 the banks of the Northwest have kept their reserves in Twin City banks, withdrawing gradually all but working balances from New York or Chicago institutions. And in 1914 came the setting of the chief jewel in the whole crown, the establishment of a federal reserve bank in Minneapolis.

The direct financing of the business of farming has had a somewhat different story. In Minneapolis one farm-mortgage house was set up in 1874, another two years later. Until about 1900, however, little progress was made. At about that time there arose additional firms, and more assets were kept in Minnesota. In 1916 the federal farm loan system was set up in St. Paul. On the side of financing the current business of the farmer, as distinct from his long-time needs, great progress was made when the Federal Intermediate Credit Bank was established in St. Paul in 1923.

Distinctions between St. Paul and Minneapolis continue to be made as between any twins. St. Paul is said to be French, Irish, and German, while Minneapolis is Yankee and Scandi-

navian. St. Paul is said to be Catholic, while Minneapolis is Protestant. But there are other distinctions which have brought about a certain division of labor of importance. St. Paul was in early times largely commercial, Minneapolis largely manufacturing. St. Paul has dealt more in animal products, from the early pelts of wild beasts to recent dairy and meat products. Minneapolis, on the other hand, has been interested more in grain and grain products. While St. Paul has attained a victory in farm finance, Minneapolis is supreme in general finance. Though they overlap a good deal in the territory with which they trade, we can say that St. Paul is more prominent in the north, east, and southeast, while Minneapolis is more influential in the west.

It was in the seventies that the influence of the Twin Cities began to be felt beyond the Minnesota borders. Within the next two decades the cities had made headway in the Dakotas and Montana as well as in northern Wisconsin. Grain and live stock at present come from the whole area, and to it in varying degrees are sent manufactured goods, fruits, and miscellaneous wares. Living in North Dakota or elsewhere in the area, people find it more convenient and cheaper to buy not only Minnesota products but distant wares through the Twin Cities. Apart from the Canadian boundary, there is no formal limit to the hinterland. In the outer reaches, the Twin Cities compete with Winnipeg, Seattle and Spokane, and Kansas City. With the last-named, the competition for the hard winter wheat of Kansas has become a notable feature of recent flour milling.

In this vast area there are towns and cities which, without derogation either to terrestrial or celestial interests, we may call satellites. Some of them, such as Mankato, Albert Lea, Rochester, Grand Forks, and Fargo, are commercial satellites; some, such as Cloquet, Stillwater, Faribault, St. Cloud, Fergus Falls, and, to some extent, Eau Claire and Winona, are industrial satellites. Helena may be dignified with the position of financial lunary.

Up in the north is Duluth with its principality of iron mines and forests and its mining and lumbering villages. In many things it is subordinate to the Twin Cities, but it has a measure of proud independence. In the eighties it had promise of greatness, which may yet be realized if Canada joins the United States and fresh water refuses to freeze. In Montana the mining of copper has as much independence of the Twin Cities as the mining of iron on the Minnesota ranges. Both look to eastern cities, whence capital and enterprise have long come to them. But, if they are not too soon played out, they may yet come to pay allegiance to the metropolis of the Northwest.

The Twin Cities are the heart of a considerable empire of great wealth and of a population of over four million people. Their position is one of distinction, but the future is not without its dangers. Duluth may rise to cut off the northern part, or the prize may go to some other city, which will bring Minnesota iron and North Dakota lignite into effective combination. Spokane, Seattle, and Denver are ambitious, and Kansas City is rapidly progressing. It is somewhat ominous for any great community that New Orleans has gone down from its early rosy promise and Boston trembles with a threatening palsy. Boston's area lacks cheap food, raw material such as cotton, wool, and iron, and most of all cheap fuel. The national resources of the Northwest are going too, and the price of coal is rising faster than the winters are getting warmer. Capital is leaving the Twin Cities for the furthering of flour milling in Kansas, in Chicago, and in Buffalo. Transportation rates are no longer so favorable to the Twin Cities. And intelligent citizens are clamoring, apparently in desperation, for the restoration of transportation on a river that has almost all the requisites except water.

Minnesota is one of forty-eight states. In one certain respect it is twentieth in rank, in another fifteenth, in another tenth. But in position in the Northwest, it stands first. It holds this rank both in business and in culture.

We all suffer from a political prepossession and an economic antagonism. This situation partly explains why we have emphasised states and their organization rather than the metropolitan regional system of the Northwest. In some respects the Twin Cities are greater than Minnesota, for all the Northwest pays tribute to the metropolitan center and, of course, receives benefits from it. If we are as big as the situation, we shall realize what is the fact, that the Northwest is a great economic and cultural unit, not of equally strong parts, but of parts held together by mutual interests. These rise from the soil and seem to give the argument to the confusionists.

To some slight extent we may further the development of a situation which has meant so much. Our Minnesota Historical Society, which occupies a place of distinction, might collect even more historical and descriptive material for the Dakotas and for Montana, material which up to date the other states in the group have not appreciated. The chambers of commerce and civic associations of the whole area might get together for common action helpful to all. And a permanent chamber of state officials might be set up, consisting of governors, secretaries of state, and others. Joint action is needed in railroad regulation, highway construction, tax laws, and measures for agricultural relief and improvement.

Many of us are not content to study economic history without noting the social and cultural results. After all, what counts even more than work is the higher satisfactions in non-material things. Here the case is strong. The metropolitan community of the Northwest is the only cultural oasis in an otherwise rather barren district. I am not forgetting many worthy institutions in the urban satellites of the Northwest. On the whole, they are higher in promise than in fulfillment. It is an interesting fact that thousands of Englishmen and other Europeans who know nothing of Minnesota have respect for Minneapolis because of its symphony orchestra, supported, be it noted incidentally, by business men partly for the sake

of advertising the city. Our libraries are in swaddling clothes, but hopefully struggling. Our institutions of art are, generally speaking, more attractive to residents than known to outsiders. But our hospitals and clinics are in the vanguard of progress. Our university has its standing not simply from the financial support given by the state but also from its location in the Twin Cities and its supply of students from the whole Northwest. Only one state university in America has an equal status without being in a metropolitan center.

It is only by contrast with the rest of the Northwest, however, that we can find much cultural satisfaction. When we think of eastern metropolitan centers we cannot be so happy. We have no opera of our own, no zoölogical gardens or museum of natural history. We have no commercial or technical museums. And we are without newspapers of a high order. Ugliness meets us on every side in the metropolitan center as in the district. And yet it is a little consoling that there is more of human art within the center than beyond.

It is a recognition of the importance of the economic organization with its cultural results that bids us call for more attention to economic history. It behooves us to know on what basis our civilization really rests. We need studies of the economic activity and position of Duluth, the old river towns, and the commercial and industrial satellites generally. The history of the little market towns with their prosaic Main Streets is quite worthy of attention. Town rivalry, early and late, is a fact of great significance, rising as it does with local opportunities and falling with general development which makes playthings of local aspirations. Studies on particular topics are still needed — on lumbering, banking (especially chain banking), warehousing, retailing, wholesaling, farm mortgages, insurance, the telephone and telegraph, and crises in our district. There have been many heroes who have gone into the building up of our parts. There have been explorers, Indian fighters, leaders of troops in wars (both useful and useless), and political stars of great local magnitude. We are

a youthful people and must have our heroes. It is perhaps asking nothing unreasonable, therefore, to call for biographies of the heroes of northwestern business. I do not mean those common perverted stories of great men who have built up farms or railroads, warehouses, and banks, and who are praised for being mayors or governors. In all respect and with due regard to the whole situation, I affirm that the unrecorded part of their labors is commonly the more important. For better or for worse, the greatest hero of the metropolitan region of the Twin Cities is James J. Hill. But there are many others with similar qualifications, and limitations, who deserve recognition from the citizens of the Northwest.

NORMAN S. B. GRAS

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA  
MINNEAPOLIS

## RAMSAY CROOKS AND THE FUR TRADE OF THE NORTHWEST<sup>1</sup>

In the exploration and opening up of the great West the fur-trader was the primary influence. With the governmental expedition of Lewis and Clark remains the honor of having made the first overland trip to the Pacific, and the expeditions of Pike were of enduring consequence, particularly in the history of the Northwest. But for many years after these explorations the sole information obtainable about the interior of the United States came as a result of the fur-trader's penetration into that area in search of his furs, skins, and buffalo robes. Men such as Pilcher, Ashley, and Lisa made possible a rude understanding of the geography of the West and brought to St. Louis its first wave of prosperity as the center of the fur trade of all the vast territory drained by the Missouri River. But in New York there was developing an organization which was to prove larger and more powerful than any of the St. Louis houses. Under John Jacob Astor was being framed the preliminary company which was to take final form in that great monopolistic enterprise, the American Fur Company. Under its management the second overland trip to the Pacific was conducted, the magnificent dream of Astoria on the Oregon coast became a realization and a disappointment, and great quantities of furs were gathered throughout the West to be sold through the four principal world markets, New York, London, Leipsic, and Canton, China.

The credit for the operation of this first forerunner of American big business is usually attributed to John Jacob Astor. It is not generally realized that Astor himself lacked the practical knowledge of the western country and the Indian trade necessary to make the venture a success, or that the

<sup>1</sup> A paper read at the seventy-seventh annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society on January 11, 1926. *Ed.*

American Fur Company continued successfully for almost a decade after Astor left its management. In the beginning Astor provided the capital; the experience and the actual handling of the company in the West were provided by partners in the enterprise. It is with the foremost of these associates of Astor, Ramsay Crooks, that the present paper deals.

Like the majority of the early merchant princes of America, Ramsay Crooks was of foreign birth; like so many of the leaders in the fur trade, he was a Scotchman. He was born at Greenock, a little town northwest of Glasgow, in 1787. His mother, a widow with four children, emigrated to Ontario when Ramsay was sixteen. He soon found employment in a mercantile firm in Montreal. In 1805, however, he entered the service of a merchant named Gillespie, and went to the United States to the frontier village of St. Louis. Here he remained for two years in the employ of Gillespie, studying the opportunities for trade with the Indians which the valley of the Missouri afforded.<sup>2</sup>

In 1807 he met and formed a partnership with Robert McClellan, characterized by Chittenden as "a man of many perilous exploits and hairbreadth escapes, a sure shot, a daring hunter," and "one of the most romantic characters in the annals of the Western fur trade." An expedition of eighty men was gathered by the partners and an outfit advanced them on shares by two of the elder members of the famous Chouteau family, all of whom were connected intimately with the fur trade. In the fall of 1807 Crooks and McClellan set out for the upper Missouri. Reports of a warlike attitude among the Sioux Indians caused them to abandon this plan, and they established themselves near the present site of Council Bluffs, where they remained until the spring of 1809.

<sup>2</sup> "Facts Concerning Ramsay Crooks," a manuscript in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society, by his granddaughter, Mrs. W. F. Just; Alfred T. Andreas, *History of Chicago, from the Earliest Period, to the Present Time*, 1:93 (Chicago, 1884).

In the summer of that year, encouraged by the ascent of the river by more powerful rivals, they determined to follow, although they had only forty men. While passing through the Sioux country they were stopped by a force of some six hundred Indians, who forbade them to proceed but agreed to trade with them on the spot. Opposition being out of the question, they pretended to set about the erection of a trading post while the Indians went to their villages some twenty miles away to secure articles for trade, leaving behind only a small guard. Crooks and McClellan immediately sent a small party secretly up the river, and after breaking up their establishment returned to their old post, leaving behind only "a message for the Indians not calculated to mollify their feelings." The two partners always maintained that the halting of their party was due to a plot of Manuel Lisa and the Missouri Fur Company of St. Louis, and McClellan declared that if he ever caught Lisa in the Indian country he would shoot him on the spot.<sup>8</sup>

In January, 1810, the Pacific Fur Company was organized by Astor and five associates. The purpose of this company was to establish a line of trading posts along the Missouri and Platte rivers to the Rockies and thence to the Pacific. Two expeditions were planned, one to go by sea to the Oregon coast and establish the principal fort and post at the mouth of the Columbia River, and the other to progress overland to this point, examining the territory en route for likely posts in the interior.

In the meantime Crooks left the Missouri country, entered the employ of the Northwest Company, and was stationed at Mackinac. To this place came Willson P. Hunt, the commander of the overland expedition. He was impressed with the experience of Crooks, and admitted him as a partner in the enterprise. The members of the expedition left Mackinac for St. Louis by way of Green Bay, the Fox and Wisconsin rivers,

<sup>8</sup> Hiram M. Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West*, 1: 159-161 (New York, 1902).

and the Mississippi, and reached their destination in the fall of 1810. Here the services of McClellan were also secured.\*

On October 21, 1810, the expedition, composed of about sixty men, left for Astoria, as the new post on the Pacific had been named in honor of John Jacob Astor. They intended to take a more southerly and direct route than that of Lewis and Clark. Incidentally, with but few variations, their course became a few years later the Oregon trail. After wintering along the Missouri, they set up the river again in the spring. They were soon overtaken by Lisa and a party of traders, and McClellan was with difficulty restrained from carrying out his threat against the Spanish trader. In midsummer they left the Missouri. Shortly after Crooks became seriously ill and had to be carried on a litter. On recovering his health he narrowly escaped drowning in the Big Horn River when his canoe split on a rock and upset in a rapids. Soon after he again almost met death, this time by starvation. Crooks and a little party were separated from the main group for twenty-seven days. For the first eighteen days they had only half a meal every twenty-four hours, and during the last nine days subsisted on "only one beaver, a dog, a few wild cherries, and some old mockason soles." Even after they rejoined the main party, food was scarce and several died of starvation. After penetrating the Rockies, but yet at a considerable distance from the Columbia, Crooks and five others who were unable to travel were left behind with some friendly Indians.\*

Crooks and one companion survived the winter and, after being despoiled of their scanty possessions by predatory Indians, were finally rescued by a party from Astoria. Crooks, however, was not satisfied with prospects in Oregon, and in the fall of 1812 he set out again upon the overland trip with only six companions. This small band followed nearly the

\* Alexander Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River, 188, 192* (Milo M. Quaife, ed.—Chicago, 1923).

\* John Bradbury, *Travels in the Interior of America, in the Years 1809, 1810, and 1811, 230-242* (London, 1819).

same route that had been taken on the outward journey, reached St. Louis in 1813, and there first learned of the war between the United States and Great Britain.<sup>6</sup> This war proved fatal to the hopes entertained for the Astoria project. A British naval expedition was sent to capture the post, but before its arrival the property had been sold to agents of the Northwest Company. Astor was disappointed at what he termed the failure of the United States government to protect American property, and the Pacific Fur Company was dissolved in 1814.

Crooks remained in close association with the Astor interests, and when the American Fur Company, headed by Astor, bought out the American interests of the Northwest Company in 1816 Crooks became one of the partners in the new company. The following year, when the reorganization went into effect, Crooks was appointed general manager. He made his headquarters at Mackinac, the company's chief post, but with his customary energy refused to direct the business from a distance. For the next five years his life was almost a continuous journey. In the winter he made his headquarters in New York and in the summer at Mackinac, but Montreal, Washington, Buffalo, Detroit, Green Bay, Prairie du Chien, and St. Louis all received frequent visits.<sup>7</sup> In 1817 the Southwest Company sold out to a group of associates of whom Crooks was a member. The management of this company also fell to Crooks.<sup>8</sup>

When he was not traveling Crooks busied himself with his correspondence. Just how voluminous this was, may be realized by anyone who has visited Mackinac and seen the two capacious letter books of the American Fur Company preserved

<sup>6</sup> Ross, *Adventures*, 202-206.

<sup>7</sup> Chittenden, *American Fur Trade*, 1:311.

<sup>8</sup> Crooks to Grant and Kirby, April 12, 1817; Crooks to Samuel Abbott, March 17, 1817, Mackinac Register. The originals of these letter books of the agent of the American Fur Company at Mackinac are in the Astor House, Mackinac; photostatic copies are in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

there, containing copies of company correspondence written almost entirely by Crooks, and covering chiefly a five-year period, 1817 to 1823. These volumes accompanied Crooks on all his travels. The letters are crowded tightly into their pages, one following another with scarcely more than ruled line between. They are remarkable for their vigor and incisiveness and are full of interesting material, much of it constituting the best source of information for the history of the trade with which it deals.

During his years as general manager of the American Fur Company Crooks extended the operations of the company farther and farther into the West, tapping the Minnesota trade. Among the new posts established was one at St. Peter's, now Mendota, at the junction of the Minnesota and Mississippi rivers. This post became the company headquarters for Minnesota. Here Henry H. Sibley, who was later the first governor of the state of Minnesota, was in charge of the company's interests; and Crooks made the post of this associate his base while in the region.

The company as yet maintained no branch at St. Louis. Crooks continually urged upon Astor the necessity of opening a house there in order that the company might share in the lucrative trade of the upper Missouri. Finally he followed Astor to Europe in the winter of 1820-21 and successfully won him over and at the same time entered into a business contract with him for the next four years. An alliance was concluded in 1822 with the St. Louis firm of Pratte, Chouteau and Company, and the American Fur Company was divided into the western and northern departments, with the St. Louis house as the western unit in the business.<sup>9</sup>

The company now extended its operations up the Missouri Valley and into the Dakotas. Its chief post was at Fort Union, one of the largest and most famous posts developed by the fur trade and the headquarters for the upper Missouri trade from its establishment in 1829 until the fur trade dwindled away

<sup>9</sup> Chittenden, *American Fur Trade*, 1: 311, 316-320.

some forty years later. It was located on the north bank of the Missouri, three miles above the mouth of the Yellowstone. Here was built a palisaded fort with stone bastions thirty feet high, pierced with cannon. A tunnel connected the fort with the near-by river, and the fort itself was capable of withstanding a severe siege and was practically impregnable against Indian attack. The establishment of such imposing posts as Fort Union was an innovation in the American fur trade introduced by the many Canadian traders who were entering into American concerns.

Fort Union was also the head of navigation on the Missouri, on the upper waters of which the steamboat was introduced by Pierre Chouteau, Jr., in 1831. For a considerable period the American Fur Company maintained a monopoly on steamboat transportation on the river, a fact which contributed to place them far in advance of their competitors, who still relied upon the keel boat and Mackinaw.<sup>10</sup> Treacherous as was the Mississippi, the Missouri was even more dangerous for navigation, and its many snags, bars, and sudden changes of level made it the graveyard of many a fine stern-wheeler.

One of the most interesting incidents of the fur trade occurred at Fort Union, where its factor, Kenneth McKenzie, "king of the upper Missouri," in order to evade the government ban on alcohol in the Indian trade, established his own distillery, deeming liquor absolutely essential to his business. He was extremely proud of the quality of liquor he manufactured, and trade flowed in as the liquor flowed out. All went extremely well until an independent party of American traders headed by Captain Nathaniel J. Wyeth stopped at the fort. McKenzie treated these guests with his usual lavish hospitality and they professed great admiration for his liquor. But when he refused to sell any of it and charged them exorbitantly for supplies, they reported him to the government authorities. McKenzie was forced to discontinue his still, and in the following year he left on a European tour. The Ameri-

<sup>10</sup> Chittenden, *American Fur Trade*, 1: 338-341.

can Fur Company excused itself on the plea that the still was "only intended to promote the cause of botany." Thus ended one of the first American attempts at bootlegging. Crooks, a stern prohibitionist, condemned the proceedings severely from his office in New York.<sup>11</sup>

In 1822 Crooks, who must have wedged a courtship into his flying business trips to St. Louis, married a daughter of Bernard Pratte, one of the new partners in the western department. Of this marriage nine children were born, five boys and four girls. Only one of these sons, William Crooks, a pioneer railroad builder in the Northwest, followed in his father's path.<sup>12</sup>

In 1830 Crooks dissolved his partnership with Astor, but he continued his position with the American Fur Company as a salaried employee, virtually as head of the company. In the same year he became an American citizen. In 1834 Astor retired from the affairs of the company. The stock of the northern department was bought by a group of seven associates, of whom Crooks was the leading stockholder. The new organization retained the old name and elected Crooks president. The western department was taken over by Pratte, Chouteau and Company, and business arrangements were concluded between the two companies.<sup>13</sup> The reorganized company began business during an off year, but fortunately encountered little opposition. Its greatest difficulty arose through the illicit liquor trade in which its opponents engaged.

<sup>11</sup> Chittenden, *American Fur Trade*, 358-362.

<sup>12</sup> See Mrs. Just's "Facts Concerning Ramsay Crooks," and her manuscript account of "A Minnesota Pioneer—William Crooks," also in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

<sup>13</sup> Crooks to Edmund A. Brush, May 19, 1834; Crooks to Abbott, June 4, 1834; Crooks to Pratte, Chouteau and Company, September 6, 1834, American Fur Company Papers. These papers are in the possession of the New York Historical Society in New York City. A calendar of the collection and photostats of some of the papers are owned by the Minnesota Historical Society and have been used in the preparation of the present paper. Crooks's certificate of naturalization is in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

The company's agent at Milwaukee, Solomon Juneau, solved the difficulty by purchasing part of his competitor's stock of whisky, but this method was neither advised nor sanctioned by officials of the company.<sup>14</sup>

Crooks proceeded to change the inland headquarters of the company from Mackinac to La Pointe, a settlement on one of the Apostle Islands in Lake Superior. The company then endeavored to get rid of its entire property at Mackinac. At one time it was proposed that the buildings there be made over into a hotel, but it was too early for such a development, and a purchaser could not be found. The other posts on the lakes were retained.

By the end of the year the management passed entirely from the hands of Astor to the new stockholders. The summer and fall of 1835 Crooks spent at Mackinac and Sault Ste. Marie, where a schooner was being built for the company's trade on Lake Superior. Since the launching of this vessel, christened the "John Jacob Astor," commercial traffic on the upper lake has been continuous. Crooks also desired the construction of other vessels for use on the lower lakes, as hired vessels proved unsatisfactory and unreliable. As a result another vessel was soon constructed, the "Ramsay Crooks," the nucleus of a small fleet.<sup>15</sup> In 1837 a group of investors proposed the construction of a ship canal around the falls of the St. Mary's River. The project received little encouragement from Crooks, who believed it too highly speculative. He also believed that such an undertaking would provide for the too rapid development and settlement of the upper lake, which would be ruinous to the company's plans of exploitation. The construction of such a canal was afterwards begun in 1853 by the state of Michigan.

<sup>14</sup> Lyman M. Warren to Crooks, October 16, 1834; Solomon Juneau to Crooks, December 13, 1834, American Fur Company Papers.

<sup>15</sup> Crooks to Benjamin Clapp, August 11, 1835; Clapp to Crooks, September 3, 1835; Crooks to Brewster, December 18, 1835, American Fur Company Papers.

Settlers who had already pushed the trapper out of the Ohio Valley now began to pour into Wisconsin, so that the company agent at Milwaukee believed that trade with the whites would be as profitable as that with the Indians. Many land speculators were reported.<sup>16</sup> This white settlement was in violation of treaties between the government and the Indians, but under Jackson's administration they were a small deterrent. The white influx was consistently opposed by Crooks, who championed the Indians' cause. He found, moreover, that the Indians were discouraged by the presence of white farmers and made little effort to hunt, so that returns from the Wisconsin region ceased to show a profit. The Indians began to do only enough hunting to purchase liquor, and many of them went over into the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company. Crooks was opposed to allowing his agents to enter into trade with the whites, except incidentally, and always for cash.<sup>17</sup>

In 1836 the company declared a dividend of fifteen per cent, making a total dividend of twenty-five per cent since its reorganization. The next year, however, the panic of 1837 affected the business of the entire country and the finances of the company were from that time on exceedingly perilous. In March, 1837, Halsey and Company, the second largest stockholders in the American Fur Company, failed.<sup>18</sup> General financial conditions were becoming so alarming that Crooks found it impossible to leave New York upon his usual western trip.

The company, however, survived the disasters of the panic, although greatly weakened by them. But when Crooks went west in 1838 for his inspection tour he found that his absence of the year before had resulted in a general slackness and demoralization throughout the western posts. Some of the

<sup>16</sup> Juneau to Crooks, March 27, December 16, 1835, *American Fur Company Papers*.

<sup>17</sup> Crooks to Juneau, March 31, 1835; Crooks to Wildes and Company, November 23, 1836, *American Fur Company Papers*.

<sup>18</sup> John B. Whetten to William Brewster, February 20, 1837; Pratte, Chouteau and Company to Crooks, April 6, 1837, *American Fur Company Papers*.

posts had granted credit indiscriminately. Others had suffered from lazy or incompetent managers; and some agents had neglected company affairs to give attention to their own personal interests. Crooks spent the summer and fall of 1838 and the beginning of 1839 in the West, first in Mackinac, the Sault, and La Pointe, and then at St. Peter's and Prairie du Chien, reorganizing his staff. In October he wrote to the New York office: "Our business in this region has been villainously managed, but the purification in progress will teach all evil-doers what they have to expect, and give a new impulse to the affairs of the Outfit, the superintendence of which is now placed in honest, and able hands."<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, the company lost all profits for that year.

The American Fur Company never really recovered from the business depression that followed the panic. It had become almost entirely dependent upon its foreign sales for funds. The election of Harrison in 1840 was relied upon by company officials to restore confidence in business, but it did not have the desired effect. In that year the report was circulated that Crooks had gone into bankruptcy, which, although false, was dangerously near the truth.<sup>20</sup> In 1840 and 1841 the company inaugurated a stringent conservation movement. Negotiations were begun for the sale of all the company business on the Mississippi to Pratte, Chouteau and Company, leaving the company only its posts on the Great Lakes and its interest in the dwindling fur supply of the Ohio Valley.<sup>21</sup> The year 1841 was disastrous in other respects. The annual fair at Leipsic was reported the worst in years and business was dull at home.<sup>22</sup> The company was even disposed to sell its interests

<sup>19</sup> Crooks to Stephen A. Halsey, September 8, October 15, 1838, American Fur Company Papers.

<sup>20</sup> Crooks to Curtis M. Lampson, September 5, October 1, 1840; Brewster to Crooks, December 18, 1840, American Fur Company Papers.

<sup>21</sup> Crooks to Henry H. Sibley, April 23, 1841, American Fur Company Papers.

<sup>22</sup> Lampson to Crooks, May 23, 1841, American Fur Company Papers.

on Lake Superior but could not find a prospective purchaser in whose ability to handle the arrangement it had confidence.<sup>23</sup>

Prospects for the sale of furs became even duller in 1842. From both London and Leipsic came reports of the smallest sales in years and the market in China was closed by war between that country and Great Britain.<sup>24</sup> The amount of money owed the company was large, but the collections were extremely small and many of the company's debtors went into bankruptcy. The sale of the upper Mississippi posts to Pratte, Chouteau and Company was finally concluded, but it did little to relieve the situation. Crooks believed that it would be impossible for him to leave New York for his annual trip; in response to urgent demands, however, he set off on September 13.<sup>25</sup> Three days before, the American Fur Company had suspended payments, with an indebtedness of some three hundred thousand dollars. It still had sufficient means when collected to pay all liabilities, but these collections would require considerable time. Meanwhile the company passed into the hands of a receiver.<sup>26</sup> Crooks became ill soon after reaching the West and for a time his life was despaired of. His health finally improved, and so great was his importance to the company that with his recovery it was believed that every liability could be paid. Business was continued, but on a reduced scale; operations on Lake Superior remained as before, but at all other points they were substantially diminished.<sup>27</sup>

The factors that led to the downfall of the American Fur Company were in the main external. The panic of 1837 and

<sup>23</sup> Crooks to Francis Duornig, December 4, 1841, American Fur Company Papers.

<sup>24</sup> Lampson to Crooks, February 5, 1842; M. F. Klauke to Crooks, March 25, 1842, American Fur Company Papers.

<sup>25</sup> Crooks to Parsons and Company, April 18, 1842; Crooks to Charles W. Borup, July 18, 1842, American Fur Company Papers.

<sup>26</sup> George Ehninger to James Henry, September 20, 1842, American Fur Company Papers.

<sup>27</sup> Ehninger to Lampson, September 29, 1842; Crooks to John Lawe, April 3, 1843, American Fur Company Papers.

the ensuing business depression were the greatest cause of the failure. Moreover, emigration of settlers to the fur country was responsible for a great falling off in the annual collection of furs; and the decline of the foreign markets together with the competition there of South American nutria caused a considerable shrinkage in the company's receipts. The one great mistake on the part of the company was its unwise policy of monopoly. In order to maintain this monopoly it spent enormous sums of money buying out competitors who could not have substantially damaged the company under any circumstances. In its last years the company realized the weakness of this policy, but the damage was already done.

By the end of 1844 the company had paid a fifty per cent dividend to its creditors, and with the gradual payment of its debts it passed slowly out of existence. In 1845 Crooks opened a commission house for the sale of skins and furs in New York. The old name of the American Fur Company was retained and the venture was extremely successful. Crooks remained in it until his death in 1859.<sup>28</sup>

Ramsay Crooks seems to have been distinguished for kindness and patience in all his relations, both with white men and red. Although vigorous and relentless as an enemy, he always fought in the open and refused to employ underhanded methods to attain his ends. This is the more remarkable when the corrupt conditions that prevailed in connection with the fur trade are considered. One of his contemporaries wrote of him: "Crooks in particular was a master at Indian diplomacy, easy-going, apparently, but sharp as a razor in concluding a bargain, with experience and keen insight into the intricate buying and selling of Indian supplies, and in knowledge of every pelt's commercial worth."<sup>29</sup> His success and the quantity of work

<sup>28</sup> Albert L. Belden, *The Fur Trade of America and Some of the Men Who Made and Maintained It*, 297 (New York, 1917).

<sup>29</sup> Deborah B. Martin, "Doctor William Beaumont: His Life in Mackinac and Wisconsin, 1820-1834," in *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 4: 267 (March, 1921).

he accomplished are all the more surprising because he was in ill health a great deal of the time. The wonder is that a man who was never strong physically could have endured the hardships and privations which he encountered in his frequent travels beyond the frontier.

Altogether, Ramsay Crooks was one of the strongest men connected with the history of the American fur trade, ranking well up with John Jacob Astor and Manuel Lisa. It was his misfortune to hold a leading position in the trade during the days of its decline and failure. Otherwise he must surely have occupied a more conspicuous position in the history of one of the most picturesque and important periods in the development of the Northwest.

J. WARD RUCKMAN

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

## THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY FROM PRAIRIE DU CHIEN TO LAKE PEPIN: A SURVEY OF UNPUBLISHED SOURCES<sup>1</sup>

In somewhat the same way that a family's standing in a community may be judged by its heirlooms, which usually indicate a past of substantial and cultivated ancestors, so a state's or a region's history may be appraised in no slight degree by the number and the worth of the manuscripts which tell its story. Contemporary printed material has great value, but if we had to depend for our knowledge of the past on the printed data that it issued, we should miss nearly all those intimate touches that give flavor and uniqueness to its story. The fur-trader did not print his diary, written piecemeal by the light of campfires or under the shade of trees on the portage trail. The pioneer did not proclaim in print the figures — put down in queer little volumes — showing the number of feet of lumber he cut and the cost of his house, stock, and crops; nor did his relatives "back East" as a rule print those extremely interesting and intimate letters which he wrote to relieve their anxiety and to give them a picture of life in the new regions to which he had emigrated. If we were to eliminate these diaries, account books, and letters from the sources of a region's history, what would be left to inform us of the daily events which seemed so matter-of-course to our ancestors that no one of them would ever have dreamed of printing an account of them?

Judged by this standard of manuscripts, the region in which we now find ourselves — the valley of the Mississippi from Prairie du Chien to Lake Pepin — has no cause to be abashed, though some of its neighbors claim a more fruitful family tree. When all the manuscripts relating to this region shall have been discovered and made known, it will be seen that a very

<sup>1</sup> This paper was read on June 18, 1925, at the state historical convention at Winona. *Ed.*

picturesque and important history filled those centuries which in most American history textbooks are considered to belong almost exclusively to the thirteen original colonies and immediately adjacent regions.

The task of discovering and preserving these manuscripts happily was begun long ago. For seventy-six years the Minnesota Historical Society has been carrying on the work of gathering documents relating to the history of the upper Mississippi Valley, and the result is a vast collection of manuscript material. Last year at the summer convention of the Minnesota Historical Society at Detroit in Becker County I described some of the unpublished materials relating to Red River Valley history.<sup>2</sup> Today I wish to tell you of some of the manuscripts which contain data for the history of the Mississippi Valley from Prairie du Chien to Lake Pepin. To be sure, I can mention only a few in the time at my disposal, but I trust those few will give you some conception of the nature of these unpublished sources.

One of the most important documents is also one of the earliest. For many years the printed *Travels* of Jonathan Carver was generally accepted at its face value and prized as one of the earliest accounts of travel in the Mississippi Valley. Of late years, however, historians have pointed out inaccuracies and inconsistencies in this work, and especially the numerous plagiarisms from the books of other travelers to the region. As a result Carver's veracity has been questioned, and some have even believed that he never made a trip to the Falls of St. Anthony in the fall of 1766, nor wintered on the Minnesota River, nor returned the next spring via Grand Portage and the Great Lakes. Yet all this time a volume of Carver papers could have been consulted in England which prove conclusively that Carver made the trip to this region as he announced, that the printed volumes are not accurate and are not copies of Carver's original draft of his journals, and that the printed

<sup>2</sup> This account is published *ante*, 5:561-572, under the title "New Light on Red River Valley History."

books are not to be compared in value with the manuscripts for a true description of the region and its inhabitants. Copies of these manuscript journals by Carver have been secured by the Minnesota Historical Society and will be printed in due time. A survey journal precedes the others and contains a brief résumé of each day's travels, giving the day of the week and the month, the direction of the course taken, the distance covered, and remarks. This journal is followed by an expanded diary of the same trip, which, in turn, is followed by a revised copy of the fuller account.

On Sunday, October 19, 1766, the survey journal reports Carver near the mouth of the Wisconsin River. Having traveled ten miles he reached Prairie du Chien, which he mentions by name in the diary. He must have found the region attractive, for he stayed there Monday and Tuesday. In fact, in his diary he describes it as "one of the Delightsomest Settlements I saw During my travels I could scarcely keep from Envying these Indians their pleasant Situation." On Wednesday he passed up the river for eleven miles. Thursday's trip took him thirty miles nearer Lake Pepin. Friday he covered twenty-five miles. Saturday he was nearing the site of the present city of Winona, but he encountered stormy weather and his survey journal records in its quaint language, "Lay by this day had Stormy weath[er]." Sunday he accomplished only eleven miles, but they must have brought him to Trempealeau River, for he records for that day, "here I Came to the Golden River not very Large; on East Side." The map which accompanies his journals shows the Golden River a number of miles north of the Noir, or Black River. Strangely enough, he does not mention Mount Trempealeau, though in his printed *Travels* he describes it at some length. Twenty-seven miles were covered on Monday and thirty on Tuesday. Large plains and high land are mentioned in his record for this week, and on the following Sunday he reached Lake Pepin.

Having wintered on the Minnesota River, Carver passed down the Mississippi again in the spring as far as Prairie du

Chien. There he joined Captain James Tute, James S. Goddard, and a party of men sent out by Robert Rogers, commandant at Mackinac, to discover the Oregon, or Columbia, River and a northwest passage to the Pacific Ocean. Because of insufficient supplies the exploring trip was never completed, but the party, consisting of about fourteen persons, traveled up the Mississippi and made its way to Grand Portage and thence returned to Mackinac. Four nights after leaving Prairie du Chien and three before reaching the mouth of the Chippewa River — about at the site of Winona, if my deductions are correct — the diary records that the party was surprised in camp by a hunting party of Fox Indians returning from Lake Pepin. Fortunately they proved to be friendly and no trouble ensued. Other items of interest might be culled from these manuscripts, but those I have mentioned are sufficient to indicate how full of value they are for the history of this portion of the Mississippi Valley.

After Carver's journey, which occurred shortly after the acquisition of the Northwest by the British, accounts become more numerous and more detailed. One of the most picturesque of the characters of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries who were identified with this region was Robert Dickson — "Redhead" he was called by the Indians, to whom red hair was a novelty. Materials relating to his fur-trading activities, which centered at Prairie du Chien but which covered a large territory to the west and north, have been brought to light recently. These are the letter books of John Blackwood and J. and A. McGill and Company, the originals of which are in Montreal. Besides Dickson, they relate to other well-known persons of this region — James Aird, Michel Renville, Joseph Rolette, and other men whose canoes, laden with furs or provisions, often passed the site of Winona with paddles keeping time to the boisterous songs of the *voyageurs*.

In 1816 the control of the fur trade about the upper stretches of the Mississippi passed from the British and Canadian mer-

chants to John Jacob Astor, and the foundation for a large part of his immense fortune was laid in this very region, to which Prairie du Chien was the gateway. He and his associates formed the American Fur Company with headquarters in New York City. Letter books kept by the company's agent at Mackinac constitute some of the best source material available for Minnesota and Wisconsin history for the period from 1816 to 1828. Photostatic copies of these volumes are owned by the Minnesota Historical Society and names familiar to many residents of Winona, La Crosse, Trempealeau, Prairie du Chien, and adjacent towns will be noted in them — for example, Grignon, La Bathe, Wabasha, Renville, Rolette, Alexis Baily, and many others. For much the same period the personal papers of Alexis Baily are useful in locating data on events and characters connected with the valley from Prairie du Chien to Lake Pepin.

In the summer of 1823 a government exploring expedition in charge of Major Stephen H. Long passed up the Mississippi Valley to Fort Snelling and thence by a devious route to Pembina. The published account of this trip was prepared by William H. Keating, and is used times without number by students of Minnesota history. Few know, however, that the leader of the expedition himself kept a very careful diary, profusely illustrated with pen maps and charts showing the route of each day's journey, topographical features of the country, camp sites, and the like. In the first of these three little brown books in the manuscript division of the Minnesota Historical Society, Long gives an account of his reception at Wabasha's village, the present site of Winona. His day's travel took him across Root River, near the present location of Rushford, up Rush Creek nearly to its source, and thence in a zigzag line to Wabasha's village on the Mississippi. His description of his travels on June 28, 1823, is of interest to Winona:

Resumed our march again after a short delay, and travelled down a beautiful valley bounded on both sides by high bluffs and precipices. It terminated in the broad valley of the Mississippi, where

we ent[e]red on an extensive plain limited by that majestic river on one hand and by stupendous bluffs, on the other. In front appeared Wabasha's village, towards which we were directing our course. On arriving at the village, the enchantment of the scene vanished. We were assailed by a host of yelping dogs, that were attended by their masters, and a throng of children,—which occasioned so great an annoyance, that we were glad to take our leave with as little delay as possible. . . . After delaying half an hour we proceeded up the Mississippi about 2 miles and encamped on its margin.

Thereafter Long describes the mounds in the vicinity, the Embarras (the present Zumbro) River, and his arrival on June 30 at Lake Pepin. Three maps accompany the entries for these days and are highly interesting to anyone acquainted with the region.

Another traveler through these regions while Minnesota was still the haunt of the savage and the fur-trader was Joseph N. Nicollet, a Frenchman who explored the upper Mississippi Valley during the years from 1836 to 1838. Like Long's expedition, his travels have been described in print. Only recently, however, have his manuscript notes, diaries, and maps come to light. They are now in the Library of Congress, and in the near future the Minnesota Historical Society hopes to secure copies of much of this material, which contains valuable papers and maps describing this portion of the valley.<sup>3</sup>

Another large mass of unpublished material containing data of interest to this region is the collection in the Congregational House, Boston, of letters to the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions written by the men and women who were sent by that organization to convert the Sioux, Chippewa, Winnebago, and other Indians.<sup>4</sup> In other places letters, diaries, and papers of the same missionaries — notably of Sherman Hall, William T. Boutwell, Frederick Ayer, and E. Franklin Ely — have been discovered; and papers of others not connected with the American Board, such as James Peet and Bishop Whipple, have been located. Taken as a whole this

<sup>3</sup> For an account of these papers see *ante*, 4: 282.

<sup>4</sup> These papers are described *ante*, 6: 202.

missionary collection holds much information regarding persons and events connected with the early history of this region.

For details of settlement in the southeastern corner of Minnesota, as in other portions of the state, the federal census schedules for each decade from 1840 to 1880 and the state schedules from 1865 to 1905 are available. These are manuscripts and give much more detail than the printed reports based upon them. They contain the names of nearly all persons resident in the state, their nativity and sometimes that of their parents, the amount of their land and number of their cattle and other stock, data about their industrial plants, and many other facts of value to anyone interested in the development of a particular locality.

The federal land office papers recently acquired by the Minnesota Historical Society through the closing of two of the last three land offices in the state are replete with names of settlers, with accounts of contests over certain pieces of land, with dates of first and final proofs for homesteaders, with figures showing the value of specified lands, and with other facts too numerous to mention. Another paper read at this convention has based many of its statements regarding the settlement of Winona County on these land office papers.<sup>5</sup> An item picked at random from the records of the Winona land office for 1855 reveals some of the unexpected information one may glean from these papers. An affidavit on file records the following story. A certain man had taken a claim in townships 106 and 107, range 18 west, built a house, and placed a man there during his absence. The latter relates the story thus:

A morning or two after that I was at work on the house and 3 men came on and said they were a committee appointed by the "Dodge Centre Claim Society" for the purpose of warning Mr. Yerby or myself to leave in the course of 2 or 3 days. And if He Mr. Yerby or myself was not off within that time a little gentle force would be used. . . . I continued to work on the house until the day that this society was raising a house on another man's Claim. . . . I then started down to the house . . . and while on

<sup>5</sup> See *ante*, 6: 258, 291.

my way . . . I he[a]rd logs rol[!]ing or tumbling down I then went right to the house and see some 25 men standing Around the ruins of the house. . . . they then took up the cooking Utensils and other furniture belonging to the house and carried them off to parts unknown.

Whether the claim society or Mr. Yerby triumphed in the end, I am not prepared to say, but this paper and others make one wish that someone would investigate the claim societies that operated in Minnesota in pioneer days and write an account of them.

An old hotel register often contains some history between its battered covers. The Carimona House, at Carimona in Fillmore County, was an inn on the main traveled stage coach line from Dubuque to St. Paul. Its register from 1855 to 1859 is preserved by the Minnesota Historical Society, and it tells some historic facts worthy of preservation besides the names of the guests, their residences, and their destinations. "Pike's Peak" is the avowed destination to be noted frequently in 1858 and 1859—in fact, if all who announced it as their goal actually journeyed thither, the Minnesota element in early Colorado history must have been large. The election of 1856 elicited many expressions and slogans in vogue at the time that give a clue to the topics on which travelers in Minnesota talked as they waited for a change of horses or gathered in the lobby in the evening. In July, 1856, someone wrote after his name, "Fremont & Dayton." Below this another inscribed, "Any man that votes for Freemont & Dayton is a 'tough cuss.'" The next entry expresses the writer's feelings more freely, and the next remarks, "Any man that votes for 'Ten Cent Jimmy' is a Border Ruffian." Not deterred by these statements, the next guest to register boldly announced his political affiliations by inscribing after his name, "Will vote for Fremont." "Border ruffian" was a term whose meaning was comprehended in the days of this old register, as one may judge from the fact that references are found to "Bleeding Kansas" and that one guest announced himself as bound for Kansas with a Sharp's rifle.

For the early sixties there is a series of pencil sketches and letters by Augustus C. Moore, who came West for his health about 1862, settled for a year or so at Frontenac, and amused himself and endeavored to recover his health by sailing a pretty little boat up and down the Mississippi and making pencil sketches here and there. Most of his letters and sketches have been preserved by his daughter, Mrs. Francis B. Tiffany of St. Paul, and copies of a few of them have been made by the Minnesota Historical Society. They tell of the everyday life of the valley, of ships that passed, of the weather, of the scenery, and of a thousand little phases of the region that other writers have deemed of no importance and so have not mentioned in their accounts.

Steamboat records, data on the lumbering business, minutes and records of old settlers' associations, church and home missionary material, public school and high school records, biographical sketches, and many other manuscripts that contain valuable information on the settlement and development of this region may be found in the manuscript division of the Minnesota Historical Society. To mention them all is impossible. A large collection like the many boxes of papers of Winona's famous son, James A. Tawney, should be mentioned. Scattering letters of another famous son, William Windom, ought not to be passed by in silence; neither should the three letters of David Olmsted, for whom Olmsted County is named, be neglected. A very attractive volume of letters and reminiscences of the oldest settlers of Mantorville was received last year by the society. A letter by Henry H. Sibley of August 20, 1852, should be of interest to residents of this city, for it tells how he secured the renaming of a Minnesota post office from Montezuma to the much more appropriate name of Winona. The diaries and letters of Matthew Marvin of Winona, one of those who represented this region in the Civil War, certainly deserve a place in this list of manuscripts relating to the valley. The papers of John F. Aiton, a missionary at Red Wing; of Alexis Baily, a fur-trader at several places

between Prairie du Chien and Fort Snelling; and of Edward B. Drew, a pioneer of Winona, all deserve more than the passing reference that I am accoring them. Many others that should be listed repose in your attics and desks, waiting for the day when their worth shall be realized. They are so much waste paper until the historian finds them. Then they regain life and by his assistance tell how large quantities of furs were sent from Prairie du Chien to Leipsic in Germany and Canton in China; how the lumberman followed in the wake of the fur-trader and made the valley resound with the axe and the log drives; how Yankees, Germans, Swedes, Irishmen, Norwegians, and representatives of many other nationalities pressed on the heels of the lumberman and made the words Minnesota and Wisconsin synonymous with a region of prosperous, agricultural people. When next you climb to your attic or overhaul your desk, remember that some of the papers you find contain history; and, remembering, send them to the Minnesota Historical Society.

GRACE LEE NUTE

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
St. Paul

## THE 1926 ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The seventy-seventh annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, held in St. Paul on January 11, was opened at 10:00 A.M. in the auditorium of the Historical Building with a session devoted to the sixth annual local history conference, with Dr. Solon J. Buck, the superintendent, presiding, and approximately fifty people, representing eleven counties,—Hennepin, Ramsey, Olmsted, St. Louis, Pipestone, Lake, Chisago, Watonwan, Waseca, Rice, and Dakota,—in attendance.

Two new county historical societies have been organized in the state since the last conference, and it was therefore fitting that in opening the meeting Dr. Buck should call attention to the material increase of historical interest in Minnesota and to its recent local manifestations. He pointed out that although the movement for local history organization is steadily gaining ground in the state, its rate of progress should be accelerated, for the thing involved is nothing less than the advance of the study of human relations. All are familiar, he said, with the great transformation that has occurred in science during the last generation or two. The public must be made to realize that today the general field of human relations, not less than that of natural science, needs study, widespread support, and the development that only an awakened and general interest can sustain. Obviously both local history and general history, in order to make their largest contributions to this broader human study, must have behind them effective organization of effort. Local history development in Minnesota may therefore be considered part of a wide movement that possesses general human significance.

Mrs. R. B. Elliott of Two Harbors, the first speaker, told of local history activity along the "North Shore"—in Lake

and Cook counties. The newly organized historical societies in these counties, she said, have excellent prospects, for there is much local interest in the work and the St. Louis County Historical Society has set an excellent example of efficiency. The lure of the historical backgrounds of the North Shore was made clear by Mrs. Elliott when she sketched its history from the days of the French explorers through the fur trade period — when Grand Portage was in its heyday — and down to the era of mines, railways, and towns.

Mrs. Will Curtis of St. James then discussed "The Relation of the State Federation of Women's Clubs to Local History Work in Minnesota." She first outlined a plan for collecting historical material in each locality through the women's clubs and for making it available in notebook form for school use, and as an illustration she exhibited such a notebook for Watonwan County containing pioneer letters, an account of the early schools of the region, and other interesting features. Mrs. Curtis then described the local history essay contest for high school pupils conducted by the Minnesota Historical Society and the federation. She said that the contest is not only stimulating the study of Minnesota history in the schools but also arousing the interest of club women, of newspaper editors, and of many other citizens in both local and state history.

Mr. Archie W. Troelstrup of Cambridge, the next speaker, spoke on "Local History Development in Isanti County" and told of the work done in the Cambridge High School, where in 1924 he introduced a course combining Minnesota with American history. Among the pupils interest was aroused in old manuscripts and illustrative objects such as arrowheads and household articles, and the collecting activity thus stimulated led to the establishment of a small historical museum. A room in the high school building was devoted to the museum and an unsolicited donation of two hundred dollars by the senior class used for equipment. Thus the work has been placed on a secure footing and many valuable items have

already been secured, including a collection of Isanti County newspapers for the period from 1874 to 1881.

Mr. Burt W. Eaton of Rochester, a member of the executive council of the Minnesota Historical Society, was next introduced and gave a talk on "Local History Prospects in Olmsted County." He made it clear that a local historical society was about to be organized in that county. Interest, promise of activity, newspaper support, and coöperation with the state society — all these were assured. The problem of a permanent home for the proposed society had not yet been solved, but he declared that one would be found somewhere in Rochester. The speaker indicated that the local history essay contest was producing good fruit in Olmsted County and told of his experience in addressing the students of one high school where interest had been developed by the contest. Mr. Eaton gave illustrations of the interest of Olmsted County backgrounds in three fields, the political evolution of the county, the history of Rochester as a medical center, and the part played by individual men and women. He closed with a tribute to Colonel James George, a Rochester man who gave distinguished service as an officer in the Civil War.

Dr. Buck then called upon the outstanding leader in Minnesota local history work, Mr. William E. Culkin of Duluth, president of the St. Louis County Historical Society. The one way to organize a local historical society, Mr. Culkin said, is to go ahead and organize it. He declared that the people of a community are naturally interested in its history and can be depended upon to support the work. A local historical society is a great pool of information, he said, into which many rivulets are flowing, and it is also a source upon which many people and interests in the community soon learn to draw.

The presiding officer, in commenting upon Mr. Culkin's wise rule for organizing a society, said that a number of failures to organize local historical societies have been due merely to the fact that those interested did not have sufficient confidence and courage to "go ahead." In a sense the object of the confer-

ence is to exchange practical ideas about local history organization, to bring out the objects and possibilities of the work, and to encourage those who are interested to push on and to promote historical activity in the localities. Given interest and activity on the part of even a few, there will be no failure.

Among those present at the conference was Mrs. Alexander A. Milne of St. Paul, a daughter of William Pitt Murray, who presented some interesting facts concerning St. Paul backgrounds and touched on some aspects of the work of the Sibley House Association, of which she is an official.

The annual luncheon was held at the St. Paul Hotel at 12:30 P.M. with ninety persons participating. The toastmaster, who was introduced by Mr. Frederick C. Ingersoll of St. Paul, was Dr. Clyde A. Duniway, professor of history at Carleton College, and the first speaker was Dr. Edward G. Cheyney, professor of forestry in the University of Minnesota, who spoke on "The History of Minnesota's Forests."

Minnesota was originally settled by people who came from a hardwood country, Dr. Cheyney said, and two circumstances account for their settlement in southeastern Minnesota: the fact that the remainder of the state had not been acquired from the Indians; and the similarity of the forests of the southeast to those in the country from which they had come. As in the eastern part of the United States, in southeastern Minnesota the timber was cut to clear the land for agriculture and the logs were a by-product. It was not land hunger, however, but the hope of profit from the logging of timber that drove people into the northern end of the state. The first sawmill was established at Marine and the first pine timber cut in 1837, when there were only a few thousand people in Minnesota and the vast prairies were as yet unpeopled. Prairie settlement hastened the cutting of timber somewhat, but it was timber for the building of prairie homes, not northern land, that led many to go to the woods.

In 1847 the first commercial sawmill was built in Minneapolis and the first logging operation inaugurated on the Missis-

sippi River. Then prairie settlement got under way, population grew apace, and the demand for lumber exceeded anything the lumbermen ever dreamed of. In 1870 the lumber industry had pushed its operations to Little Falls. Already Duluth mills were flirting with the trade of the Great Lakes opened up by the waning of the supply in Michigan and Wisconsin. The railroad, which came to St. Paul in 1867 and to Duluth in 1870, opened up new vistas to the loggers, for they were no longer confined closely to the streams.

The first mill at Cloquet was built in 1878, above the big falls at Thomson which made it impossible to drive the logs from the Cloquet River and its tributaries to Duluth. This new mill town soon led the North and now leads the whole state in lumber production, and important progress has been made there toward the complete utilization of the forest products. About 1900, railroads began to thread the North, concentrating on Bemidji from Brainerd, Duluth, and Wadena; and they pushed east from Duluth to Knife River and north to Virginia and International Falls. These roads were primarily timber carriers.

The speaker in conclusion pointed out that by 1905 Minnesota had passed the peak of its lumber production. It was on a down grade that has left it today with fourteen million acres of cut-over lands, a production about half as great as its consumption, and an idle land problem that will tax the wisdom of its citizens to the limit. "For it must always be remembered," Dr. Cheyney declared, "that the forest was cut for the logs, not for the land. The logs are gone, the land is not wanted, and only the taxes remain. To enable these lands to pay their own taxes is the biggest economic problem which the state has before it today."

The luncheon program was concluded by Mr. Theodore C. Blegen, assistant superintendent of the society and professor of history at Hamline University, who gave an address entitled "Interpreting Minnesota" in which an attempt was made to analyze the aspects of Minnesota and its history that mark the

state in a distinctive way, and to evaluate the place of Minnesota in the family of states today.<sup>1</sup>

The afternoon session, which convened at three o'clock, was attended by about a hundred people. Dr. William W. Folwell, president of the society and president emeritus of the University of Minnesota, was in the chair and opened the meeting by reading a brief presidential address. He pointed out that although many have helped and contributed to the society's growth and widening influence, "the main credit must be accorded to a few devoted men laboring for love rather than for pay." The period of Dr. Edward D. Neill's service as secretary for twelve years ending in 1863 was characterized as one of "small but hopeful beginnings," and Dr. Folwell declared that Neill's *History of Minnesota* is a work that "will remain, in the words of Thucydides, 'a treasure forever.'" The services of John Fletcher Williams, ending in 1893, covered a period of twenty-six years—a time when "with a permanent home in the low dark basement of the old capitol the society prospered according to its income." Seven volumes of the society's *Collections* were brought out, including Williams' *History of the City of St. Paul and of the County of Ramsey*, "a work of conspicuous merit as a source of local history, with important contributions to that of the territory and state."

Dr. Warren Upham's service as secretary and librarian lasted nineteen years, from 1895 to 1914, a period of "continued and steady progress." Dr. Folwell called special attention to the great growth of the society's library and its museum under Dr. Upham's leadership. Eight volumes of *Minnesota Historical Collections* (8 to 15 inclusive) were brought out by Dr. Upham, and one of these, the collection of *Minnesota Biographies, 1655 to 1912* (vol. 14) was characterized as "a most admirable and convenient Minnesota 'Who's Who.'" Dr. Upham's later *Minnesota Geographic Names: Their Origin*

<sup>1</sup> A more detailed report of an earlier address on this theme by the same speaker is published *ante*, 6: 256-257.

*and Historic Significance* was described as "an equally admirable Minnesota 'There's Where.'" The speaker also referred to "our tardily begun continuous chronology of Minnesota events," now being prepared by Dr. Upham. The present superintendent and secretary, Dr. Solon J. Buck, who assumed office in 1914, was trained in "the modern school of American historians" and, said Dr. Folwell, has naturally given "a new direction to the purely historical work of the society." He has appreciated the narratives and eulogies of "old settlers and amateurs caught on the wing," but has given his attention primarily to "arraying the facts which constitute our state's history in proper sequence and proportion and verifying them" from original, contemporary sources. "The example thus set," said Dr. Folwell, "is already taking effect in our schools, magazines, and newspapers." Attention was also called to the continued building up of the society's collections and the progress of its various activities.

Dr. Folwell then turned to the problem of the society's newspaper collection, and particularly commented on the great change in the character of newspapers since the society began its comprehensive collection. The enormous size of modern newspapers, the mass of advertising matter that they contain, and the poor quality of the paper stock used may make necessary, he indicated, a change of policy on the part of the society. The establishment of a system of carefully kept scrap books was suggested as a possible alternative to the present comprehensive preservation of newspaper files.

Dr. Folwell concluded his address by complimenting the members of the society's staff, who "all look good and work faithfully for the moderate salaries we are able to afford in the cheap dollars of the day." He drew special attention to the services of the newspaper librarian, Mr. John Talman. The recent change by which the society has been designated an "agency of the state" and brought within the scope of the financial supervision of the state department of administration and finance Dr. Folwell viewed with equanimity. He declared

that in his opinion, under the new system, "legislatures will be the more willing to grant us the appropriations we shall endeavor to deserve and trust us for judicious expenditure under superior control."

Following the president's address, the state of the society's finances was reported by the treasurer, Mr. Everett H. Bailey of St. Paul, and a survey of the activities of the society during 1925 was presented as the annual report of the superintendent, Dr. Buck. A paper on "Ramsay Crooks and the Fur Trade of the Northwest" was then read by Mr. J. Ward Ruckman of Minneapolis. This interesting study of a prominent figure in the history of Minnesota and the West is printed in full in the present number of *MINNESOTA HISTORY*. A closely related theme was dealt with by Dr. Grace Lee Nute, curator of manuscripts for the Minnesota Historical Society, in her paper on "The American Fur Company's Fishing Enterprises on Lake Superior."<sup>2</sup> She described the American Fur Company as an early, probably the earliest, example of "big business" in the history of the United States. Though its main activity was the securing and marketing of furs, skins, and buffalo robes, it maintained several subsidiary enterprises, one of which was its fisheries on Lake Superior. This collateral business was begun after Ramsay Crooks became president of the company in 1834. Vessels were built for service on the lakes and the inland headquarters of the concern were moved from Mackinac to La Pointe. This place, Dr. Nute said, was made the center of the fishing business from which boats, fishermen, and supplies were sent to various substations, and to which the fish were transported after having been caught and salted. The chief fishing stations were at Fond du Lac, Isle Encampment (near

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Nute's paper was first read by her at a joint meeting of the American Historical Association and the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Ann Arbor, Michigan, on December 30, 1925, and it is being brought out in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for March. Large excerpts of the paper are published in the *Minneapolis Journal* for January 17 under the title, "Rise and Fall of Minnesota's First Great Industry Revealed as Romance of Business 100 Years Ago."

Two Harbors), Grand Portage, Isle Royale, the Anse (now Point Keweenaw), Grand Island, and White Fish Point; and many minor posts were also established. Whitefish, siscowet, trout, pickerel, and herring were the usual varieties that were caught, and these were sent to La Pointe and thence to Detroit, for sale in Michigan and Ohio.

In 1838 the number of barrels shipped to Detroit was four thousand, and the following season's catch was even greater, approximately fifty-five hundred barrels — too great a yield, in fact, for disposal in the usual markets. Accordingly a new policy was adopted: that of developing a market for lake fish. From 1839 until 1842, according to the speaker, strenuous efforts were made to sell Lake Superior fish in New York, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Tennessee, Kentucky, along the banks of the Mississippi from New Orleans to St. Louis, up the Red River and the Arkansas, and in the newly settled regions of Texas. Large quantities of fish were sent to be marketed in these regions and sales might have proved successful had not the period been one of extreme depression consequent on the panic of 1837. In 1842 the American Fur Company failed and the fishing enterprise came to an unsuccessful close.

Dr. Nute asserted that since several of the company's important posts were located within the present boundaries of Minnesota, fishing may be considered Minnesota's second industry, the first being the fur trade. The chief promoters of the business are well-known characters in Minnesota history, particularly Ramsay Crooks, whose half-breed daughter Hester married the famous missionary, William T. Boutwell, and whose son William was a colonel in the Civil War and a noted railroad promoter in the state. Descendants of Gabriel Franchere and of his stepson, John Prince, both of whom were agents for the marketing of the fish, reside now in the state. Prince himself was mayor of St. Paul from 1860 to 1862. The agents in charge of the entire fishing enterprise were Lyman Warren, for the years 1834 to 1838, and Charles W. Borup, for the remainder of the period, both of whom were intimately

connected with later Minnesota developments. Warren's son William wrote the standard book on the Ojibways in Minnesota, and Borup became a prominent banker in St. Paul. Thus the fishing industry described by Dr. Nute possesses a special interest for Minnesota history.

A replica of a pioneer log cabin of the fifties, which has been erected in the East Hall of the society's museum with the coöperation of the state timber and forestry officials, was given its first public showing during the meeting. At the conclusion of the afternoon session Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, curator of the museum, gave a brief talk about the cabin and invited all who were present to view it. A special meeting of the executive council of the society was held in the superintendent's office at 4:45 P.M.

The last session of the annual meeting was held in the auditorium of the Historical Building at 8:00 P.M., with Mr. Frederick G. Ingersoll, first vice president, presiding, and with an audience of approximately two hundred persons in attendance. The annual address was given by Dr. Norman S. B. Gras, professor of economic history in the university, on "The Significance of the Twin Cities for Minnesota History." Dr. Gras's interpretation of the history of the Northwest in terms of the development of a great metropolitan center serving and being served by a vast hinterland transcending state boundaries awakened the interest not only of his immediate audience but also of a considerable portion of the press of the state. In particular his suggestion of a chamber of state officials to establish a working alliance between Minnesota and the Dakotas and Montana — broadly speaking the economic area that he regards as tributary to the Twin Cities — called forth much discussion. Thus the *St. Paul Dispatch* in an editorial on "A Regional Entente," in its issue for January 13, strongly indorsed the idea and called upon the Northwest to make the practical application that he suggested. Of Dr. Gras the *Dispatch* says, "He is out in advance, it is true, seeing clearly what some only glimpse, and glimpsing evolutions to which some are wholly

blind. But facts discernible to every one do bear him out and demonstrate that the common urge is in the direction of his thinking." Dr. Gras's paper, which is brought out in the present number of *MINNESOTA HISTORY*, will greatly interest all readers of the magazine, whether or not they agree with the views to which he commits himself.

Following the annual address Mr. Frank M. Warren of Minneapolis gave a delightful illustrated talk on "Isle Royale, Past and Present." He began with an account of the geographical features of the famous island and discussed the evidences found on it of prehistoric copper mining. He then told of the exploration, surveys, and later development of the island, and proceeded to illustrate his points with a remarkable series of slides. The exact location and shape of the island, the remains of early mines, the beauty of forests, bays, sunsets, and sunrises, and the marvelous wild life that abounds on Isle Royale — all these were visualized. Mr. Warren demonstrated not only that he was in love with his theme but also that he had studied with meticulous care the geographic features and the natural life of the island, and many of his slides afforded thrilling proof of his skill as a photographer of wild life. After the exhibition of slides, Mr. Warren presented a moving picture that he himself had taken, and although all of it was interesting the audience was particularly captivated by the portion devoted to moose. "There are probably more moose to the square mile on Isle Royale today," said Mr. Warren, "than in any equal area of North America. These creatures, the largest members of the deer family, are fast being destroyed. Soon, unless they are adequately protected, they will have gone the way of the wild pigeon and the buffalo." Mr. Warren declared that Isle Royale, "with its forests and wild life, should be preserved as it is for the generations to come." There is danger that axe, saw, and fires will destroy its timber and that its moose may be slaughtered. The solution, in Mr. Warren's opinion, is that Isle Royale should be taken over by the United States as a forest and wild life pre-

serve. The whole matter was put in a nutshell by the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* in an editorial on January 24 that indorsed the movement to make this "living replica of America's primeval beauty" a federal possession.

The last event of the annual meeting was an informal reception in the museum attended by about 175 members of the society and their friends. The center of attraction was the newly installed log cabin, equipped with genuine pioneer furnishings and intended to reproduce as exactly as possible the actual home of an early pioneer. In the cabin three members of the society's staff, Miss Irene Bulov, Miss Constance Humphrey, and Miss Elizabeth Sergent, who were dressed in the quaint costume of the middle fifties, gave an added touch of reality to the scene.

T. C. B.

## STEAMBOAT TRAVEL ON THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI IN 1849

In the settlement of any community or country the question of accessibility is always of importance. If there is some means of transportation readily available, settlers will flock into the region in search of good lands upon which to build new homes. Rivers and lakes from time immemorial have formed the highways of travel for migratory peoples, and a glance at the map will show the wonderful advantages of this sort which Minnesota possesses. Nearly every part of the state can be reached by water, and the explorers, fur-traders, and settlers were quick to take advantage of that fact. In 1823 the first steamboat, the "Virginia," reached the mouth of the Minnesota River with supplies for the new military post, Fort St. Anthony, and the era of steam navigation on the upper Mississippi began. The number of boats plying on the upper river as far as St. Paul and Fort Snelling increased steadily, and the rivalry among them became intense. Larger and faster steamboats with better accommodations for passengers were built and put into this trade, and Minnesota came to have a regular instead of a spasmodic connection with the rest of the United States.

Naturally many persons made the long trip between St. Paul and points down the river,—for instance, St. Louis and Galena,—enjoyed the wonderful scenery, endured the discomforts of steamboat travel, and recorded their impressions in one form or another. For some of these travelers, including the writer of the following letters, this was merely the first step in the long pilgrimage to visit friends and relatives in the East. It was apparently not uncommon for such wanderers to send accounts of their travels to the editors of newspapers for publication. The following letters, originally published in the *Minnesota Pioneer* for November 8 and 15, 1849, are worth reprinting because they give a vivid picture of steamboat travel

on the upper Mississippi in the year Minnesota became a territory.<sup>1</sup> The identity of the author, who appears to have made his home in St. Paul, has not been learned.

WILLOUGHBY M. BABCOCK

[*Minnesota Pioneer* (St. Paul), November 8, 1849]

COMMUNICATED.

S. B. FRANKLIN, No. 2, Oct. 25, 1849.<sup>2</sup>

I confess to a feeling of sadness as the Senator swings away from my new home, Saint Paul. The original Saint Paul, is my especial favorite; and there is something in a name. I like Saint Paul for what it is and more for what it is destined to be; yet an angel of mercy must visit it and touch its moral vision, before it will rejoice in the sunlight of true prosperity. No town has a more vigorous pulse. It is not easy for a town to die in which the tide of business throbs like the heart of a steamboat. Saxon muscles, Saxon sinews and Saxon spirit, are there working one of the most wonderful of those startling miracles of American enterprise, which are transforming the face of our continent; but there is there, a spirit of recklessness—an indulgence in gambling and drinking whiskey, a disregard of the hallowing influence of Sunday, and a want of stable, religious principle, which is greatly to be lamented and vastly detrimental to the true welfare of the town. Religion, education, and morals—these are things for all good men to unite in establishing in Saint Paul.

<sup>1</sup> The writer of these letters continued to describe his travels in subsequent issues of the *Pioneer*. He progressed by steamer up the Illinois River to La Salle and then changed to a packet canal boat for Chicago. Here he took the Michigan railroad for Detroit, where he embarked on a Lake Erie steamer for Buffalo. The railroad served him again for the last lap of his journey from Buffalo to Boston and Lowell, Massachusetts.

<sup>2</sup> The "Dr. Franklin No. 2" was purchased on the Ohio River early in 1849 by Captain Daniel S. Harris and put into the St. Louis and St. Paul trade. It was known as "Dr. Franklin No. 2" to distinguish it from the "Dr. Franklin," or "Old Doctor." Russell Blakeley, "History of the Discovery of the Mississippi River and the Advent of Commerce in Minnesota," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 8: 381, 382, 387.

## LAKE PEPIN.

It is evening. The lake looks hazy; and were it not for the moonshine, we might expect to stick in a fog-bank before morning. Our boat is relieved of her dead freight, and she rushes adown the current like a colt. All pleasant within. The two captains are among us, Harris for the main chance, Montfort for fun. Montfort's countenance is always propitious as the new moon. Lieut. Nelson of Fort Snelling is aboard—ordered on a recruiting service to St. Louis. The Lieut. likes some of our Minnesota come-outers, better than their politics. Also Geo. Zane, Capt. Chrysop and the Stillwater wag—Collier. "No sleep till morn when youth and beauty meet." Ring, too—Eleazer, the great relieved from his wife Elzora Ring—is aboard. Eleazer has been an invalid. He is better now. Eleazer and Elzora once flourished in Conneaut, Ohio. He was pastor of the first Methodist church there, and his wife was a free-willed Baptist. Elzora was a perfect tiger-cat. She had no passive qualities—she either scratched or purred. She would attend conference meetings with Eleazer, and pray with a most melting unction. She seemed gifted. No sooner had she gotten into the wagon to return home with her husband than she would fix her eyes upon him and with her thumb and knuckles twist his non-resistant flesh into black and blue spots. At times, she was all he could wish—would almost smother him in her caresses. In a twinkling she would turn, in her fierce love, and bury her claws in his face. Poor Eleazer has been all the way to Saint Paul to find sympathy. The thorn is extracted—thanks to the Legislature.<sup>3</sup>

## SATURDAY MORN.

Last night we came upon a shoal; but we didn't stick. The boat walked right over on stilts. The chandeliers rattled as though we were stumbling over the hump of an earthquake. Woke at 6 and found the Franklin in bed with the Yankee under

<sup>3</sup> The bill to divorce Eleazar F. Ring from his wife Elzora passed the House, apparently without much discussion, on October 18, 1849, and the Council on October 24. Ring evidently left St. Paul immediately after the passage of the bill, without waiting for the governor's sanction to the law. Several other special divorce laws were passed during the same session. *Council Journal*, 1849, p. 113; *House Journal*, 1849, p. 117.

a lee bluff.<sup>4</sup> The Franklin was discharging upon the Yankee a few bbls. of pork. Pork is the tender now. The Franklin pays her wood bills in pork.

PRAIRIE DU CHIEN, 12 M.

What an old rain-beaten town! How scattered away on the plain. It seems when close to, to be afar off as in the perspective of an inverted spyglass. Something like a desolate Italian campagna. It makes one homesick.

A warm, strong, south wind, and sunshine. The bluffs are dressed in the finery of red and yellow like a culprit going to the gallows—making the best of it before winter sets in.

Here comes the Highland Mary, showing her smoke pipes over the willows.<sup>5</sup> Full freight with two barges in tow. Pork and flour are the staples wanted in Minnesota. The demand upon these down-river towns is very drastic—a poor man's plaster. Prices keep rising. Hope the Minnesotans will look less sharkish next spring than they did last spring when the first boat arrived. Seven hyperborean months in a region over 300 miles from the nearest supplies makes one shudder. Next year Minnesota will do much for her own supplies. She has the soil; she only wants the farmers. They will come in by scores next spring.

CASSVILLE, 6 Sat. eve.

“*Urbs antiqua fuit.*” Indeed there is not much to be seen here but herbs. This Carthage, consisting of one huge brick edifice, now in a state of “shabby splendor” two or three unpainted stores and several groceries, will detain us till daylight. 2000 pigs raised by W. O. Schmid—out of the mines—in Beetown, are to be taken aboard to night.

SUNDAY MORN, day-break.

Creeping into the crooked harbor of Dubuque like a burster going late to bed. Sun-rise. Dubuque is washing her face for

<sup>4</sup> The “Yankee” was commanded by Captain Meeker K. Harris, brother of Captain Harris of the “Dr. Franklin No. 2.” In the summer of 1850 this steamboat set a record by taking an excursion party three hundred miles up the Minnesota River. George B. Merrick, *Old Times on the Upper Mississippi*, 294 (Cleveland, 1909).

<sup>5</sup> The “Highland Mary,” captained by Joseph Atchison, ran in the Galena and St. Paul trade in the summer of 1849. Blakeley, in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 8:386; Merrick, *Old Times*, 274.

Sunday. She is a fair town, and in our opinion will never be less. The buildings are generally brick, the streets are regular and dry. Dubuque, we must say, looks slightly slack about the feet and ankles.— There is about many of the houses a margin of "clutter" where all should be clean. One street, well built for a new town, extends, apparently, three-fourths of a mile, leaving room for an extension on the same level beyond. We saw no hogs about town. The houses are underpinned, so we infer, the hogs are kept for service and not for society.

The Senator showed her eye-balls last evening while we lay in Cassville.\* We saw her *but* a moment — for she felt herself belated, for a Saturday night. The Senator respects the Sabbath. So does the Doct. Franklin in her internal order. It has never been clearly settled in our mind, whether there is a Sabbath in new countries. Mr. Webster says there is no Sabbath in revolutionary times — pity he wouldn't grant a dispensation to new countries. It would cloak a multitude of sins. Adieu.

[*Minnesota Pioneer* (St. Paul), November 15, 1849]

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

DR. FRANKLIN, NO. 2

Galena, *Sunday Morning*, Oct. 29. }

The streets are quite Sunday-like in aspect. People dressed for church. Some young gents, of florid countenances, are promenading our saloon. That bridge is a bad thing; the Doctor had to squeeze through the draw, like a pig squeezing through a stile. If the Galeneans will play hog, as they did in quarrelling about the location of a bridge, they would not "*ring*" us into the game. One bridge is enough, and that might perhaps, as well have been a ferry. Speaking of pigs — Galena shows upon the landing, the usual quantum of mineral pork. We like Galena. It is active, civilized, and the other end of that Railroad.<sup>7</sup>

\* The "Senator," rival boat of the "Dr. Franklin No. 2" was commanded by Captain Orrin Smith, and owned by the Galena and Minnesota Packet Company. Merrick, *Old Times*, 288.

<sup>7</sup> Only a small part of the railroad between Galena and Chicago had been completed in 1849, for a stage trip of thirty-six hours from Galena was necessary in order to reach the end of the railroad eighteen miles from

We have worked our way out of Fevre river, and are once more snorting over the plain of the broad Mississippi. The stream is in a hurry, as usual. The Mississippi never tarries, is always a freshet—a raging lion; tearing down bluffs and trees—resistless.

Here is Bellevue by moonlight. A huge flouring mill on the river's brink, propelled by a stream that empties here, has just turned out another grist of 150 barrels for St. Louis. "Down with *them* barrels, boys!" This mill cost \$16,000. Flour at \$3.75. Here stands the old black house, in which the famous horse thieves were cornered by the good citizens, a few years ago, and shot down dead. Capt. Summary keeps excellent order in these parts, now-a-days.

Senator Jones of Iowa is aboard.\* He thinks it does not lie in the mouths of Taylor whigs to upbraid Mr. Sibley for taking party ground. Gen. No-party Taylor has not only acted the radical partizan in stocking all the offices of Minnesota with whigs, but he has done our delegate the contempt of never, for once, having respected the newly established precedent of allowing a *part* of the nominations, at least, to come from the Delegate. Pray, what claims have the Whigs upon Mr. Sibley? but that he should defend himself as an independent man. They must take it out in swinging their arms and swearing. It has come out since the election, that while the whigs of Minnesota were showing a hypocritical face of neutralism, they were Jesuitically counting their men, one by one, and holeing their ears. We speak that we do know—one of the '*imports*,' (Ohio,) told us the other day (confidentially) that the whigs of St. Paul, before

Chicago, according to a letter under the heading "Western Notes" in the *Pioneer* for November 8, 1849. By 1851 preliminary surveys had been made for the third division of the road between Rockford and Galena. Galena and Chicago Union Railroad Company, *Fourth Annual Report*, 16-18 (Chicago, 1851).

\* George W. Jones made his first appearance in Congress as a delegate from Michigan Territory in December, 1835, and a year later upon the organization of Wisconsin Territory was elected delegate from that territory. On December 7, 1848, he was chosen as the first United States senator from the new state of Iowa. John C. Parish, *George Wallace Jones*, 14, 20, 35 (*Iowa Biographical Series*, Iowa City, 1912).

election, were counted to a man! What a godly man Mr. No-party is!

MONDAY MORNING, Daybreak.

The Doct. Franklin is grinding his belly on the shoals—or playing whale on the Davenport rapids. "Turn back the larboard!" "Starboard," "go ahead!" We are off. The river is wide here. A stranger, until the boat grinds, would observe no signs of the rapids here. Though he wonders why these saw-mills are clinging under the bank on each shore with their long flipper water wheels reaching out into the current. These mills filch their hydraulics out of the natural current, by means of wheels about the height of steamboat paddles, only a "nation longer."

Pity, constitutional objections, were not obliged to go down over these rapids, on pine bottoms at low water—reckon they come in for the Northwestern doctrine, though we might "want the money for the war." Warp the Constitution, but don't break through our bottom! We say, We go for the Davenport memorial. The upper rapids extends 18 miles. The boats, at the present middle stage of water, must go over by daylight. Great Heavens! what a rake that was. We had supposed that we were over. Well, we are over now.

DAVENPORT Iowa, and Rock Island, Ills.—two towns opposite each other—two bright eyes looking out from the wilderness. Here, standing out amid-stream, are the old grey relics of Rock Island Fort—once the eyesore of Blackhawk. Moline, just below, is a prosperous town. But the three towns lie too thick in a bed—two of the three will wake up some morning, strangled by the strongest. The West wants people. These rich prairies, these waterfalls, with open arms, invite the world to take them. Emigration to Iowa, within the last four or six weeks, is computed by the Davenport Banner, at some 100,000 persons. A big story, but we swallow. We account for it in this way—there is much hog and hominy in Iowa, and these people are wintering here with a view to Minnesota in the Spring. Harkee!

Here is Muscatine, which has just shuffled off its alias, Bloomington. More bowling alleys, than churches. But we are from St. Paul—we must not preach a sermon too near home.

Oquawka, looks better than it sounds to some ears. It has the best landing we have seen—paved along the water's edge some hundred rods. Oquawka—we like to dwell on so poetical a name, is a bright and prosperous town.

BURLINGTON by moonlight. "It is a perfect lone love" of a town. We were so taken, that we were tempted to unship ourself and stay for life. But not yet, we must visit the city of 10,000 factory girls first.<sup>9</sup> Women are scarce all over the West. We are constrained to say that woman and civilization go hand in hand.

FORT MADISON.—It looks well in the dark. Montrose, the head of the "Lower Rapids." It looks as though it was built in one day some ten years ago—the inhabitants got drunk the same night and remained drunk ever since. A sad spectacle of little old weather beaten, unpainted houses. Here we put 60 tons of lead, and a vast amount of other freight upon a lighter, to ease us over the rapids. Twelve miles of rapids. We are in for a "liberal construction" again. Five steamboats, and as many lighters, (huge flat boats,) all squirming in one spot to get over the rocky bottom. On the shore, are two four horse teams towing up barges.

KEOKUK—very much stuck up. Quite high and thirsty. We went aboard the new steamer Minnesota, at Montrose; she is a high decker, a very superior boat.<sup>10</sup> Her cabin is not so large as Dr. Franklin's, nor quite as pleasant.

CHURCHVILLE, Mo., Tuesday, 10 A. M.

Col. Benton will arrive here to day, and address the people.<sup>11</sup>  
Adieu.

<sup>9</sup> The writer apparently is referring to Lowell, Massachusetts, for in a letter written from that place on December 3, 1849, and published in the *Minnesota Pioneer* for January 9, 1850, he states: "Here are 10,000 female operatives away from home and the supervision of relatives. . . . Most of them are young—from the age of fifteen to twenty."

<sup>10</sup> The "Minnesota" was commanded by Captain Robert A. Riley in the fall of 1849, according to Merrick, *Old Times*, 280.

<sup>11</sup> The allusion, which needed no explanation to the newspaper readers of 1849, is of course to Thomas H. Benton, the veteran United States senator from Missouri.

## NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

### THE LETTERS OF SHERMAN HALL, MISSIONARY TO THE CHIPPEWA INDIANS

In 1831 the family of Sherman Hall, residents of Weathersfield, a secluded Vermont hamlet, bade him farewell as he set out with the purpose of converting the Chippewa Indians about Lake Superior. No doubt they felt that he had gone almost to the ends of the earth and that correspondence from that mysterious region was unique, for they cherished and carefully preserved his letters as they came back slowly from Mackinac, Sault Ste. Marie, and, finally La Pointe, the terminus of his journey.

It is fortunate for certain chapters of Minnesota and Wisconsin history that Hall's family treasured his letters in this way, for they afford the best account now known of the mission station at La Pointe. The file is now in the possession of a member of the family, Mr. Ernest W. Butterfield of Concord, New Hampshire, who in 1923 thoughtfully informed the Minnesota Historical Society of their existence. Photostatic copies of most of the documents in the file were made by the Massachusetts Historical Society; a few letters were found later and typed copies were forwarded by Mr. Butterfield. Typed copies of all the photostats have been made recently in preparation for publication in a volume of source material on the history of the Minnesota missions, and thus the information which the letters afford is now easily obtainable.

The letters number approximately eighty and cover the period from 1831 to 1875. Most of them were written from La Pointe, where Hall conducted the mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions from 1831 till 1853. In March of the latter year he removed his family to the

Crow Wing Indian agency, where he purposed to establish a new mission and to conduct a manual training school. He remained there about a year, until the American Board decided that it was useless to make further efforts to convert the Indians, since government agents were unwilling to coöperate. He then found himself without an occupation, but having purchased land in Sauk Rapids a few years before this failure of his mission plans, he withdrew to his farm and continued to reside there until his death in 1879. During this last period of his life he was pastor for many years of a little Congregational church which was supported in part by the American Home Missionary Society. Members of this church eventually decided that they no longer cared for his preaching, and so, in 1865, when he was a man advanced in years, he resigned. A letter written to his sister on April 16, 1866, tells in his own words, though partially through the very lack of words, what this episode meant to a man who had given his life to his church :

I have preached only occasionally since last July. Some of the people seemed to be dissatisfied about something; I do not know exactly what; and those interested to have me continue to preach became discouraged and did not make much effort to raise a salary for me. As my salary stopped, if I preached at all, I must do it gratuitously; But as no one asked my [sic] to continue my services and I heard that remarks were made by some which seemed to imply that my services were not acceptable to some, I concluded that I was intruding myself upon the community to continue them. I therefore gave notice that I should discontinue my service and did so.

Hall's troubles did not end with this personal tragedy, however, for in 1874 his house burned and he lost not only all his furniture, but his entire library. In short, it is painful to read the letters written during this period, when he was trying to be hopeful and resigned though it is obvious that he was tasting the gall of failure and blighted ambition. His experiences no doubt account for the reaction to his frontier home that is expressed in the following letter of November 7, 1869:

Now if I had those old everlasting hill[s] and mountains to write about, the first object that I ever set my eyes on and the last to be forgotten, and could talk of the old friends of youth and the changes time has made among them, I should find themes enough to inspire a letter at any time. But of this monotonous country of which you know nothing, and of its heterogeneous society and uncouth customs which would appear to you next to bar[b]arism, I know not what to say to interest you.

The letters from La Pointe are of historical value because of the information they give about the Indians, the traders, missionary devices and plans, Indian treaties, and the immigration of the whites. Letters and diaries of other missionaries relate to the La Pointe station, but Hall's letters give the only continuous account of it.

In the letters of the later period of Hall's life, which was spent in the territory and the young state of Minnesota, the student of history can find much to interest him. First there is a brief account of the Crow Wing mission. Then follows the record of more than twenty years spent in a frontier community. For the agricultural history of the territory and state, these letters hold some information; nearly every letter for a considerable period quotes prices for farm products. The panic of 1857 was keenly felt in Sauk Rapids, and not a little attention is given by Hall to the depression that followed. Next come the echoes of the Civil War, which, apparently, did not seriously affect Sauk Rapids. The Sioux Outbreak, however, is accorded one entire letter, and on the supposed concert of Hole-in-the-Day with the Sioux it contains some valuable remarks by one whose knowledge of the Chippewa could hardly be questioned.

Besides this file of letters from Hall to his family the Minnesota Historical Society has copies of one journal and of many of Hall's letters and reports to the American Board. The originals of the journal and the second group of papers form part of the archives of that board in the library of the Congregational House in Boston. Reference has been made in an earlier number of *MINNESOTA HISTORY* to the discovery

of these and other letters. (See *ante*, 6: 202.) In a later issue some further account of Hall's letters in these archives will be given when the entire group of northwest mission letters is described.

G. L. N.

#### THE KENSINGTON RUNE STONE: A REPLY TO CRITICISM

In the December, 1925, issue of *MINNESOTA HISTORY*, p. 370-374, Dr. Theodore C. Blegen reviews some alleged errors in an earlier article by me. His comments call for a few words of explanation.

Dr. Blegen is quite right when he condemns the statement cited from my article that "the first white settlers came to Douglas County in 1865." The error is due to a misprint. In 1919, when my article was written, some people believed that even if the Kensington stone was *in situ* at least forty or fifty years before it was found in 1898 (as appears from the official report of the Museum Committee of the Minnesota Historical Society), it might have been left there by some early Norwegian settler. I therefore investigated the time of the coming of the Norwegians to Douglas County and found that the first Norwegian settler came there in 1865. This is what I wrote in my Ms. The stenographer or typesetter through some subconscious association of ideas changed the word *Norwegian* to *white* and the change unfortunately escaped my attention in proof reading.

Dr. Blegen cavils at my statement that the late Senator Knute Nelson was one of the "first settlers" at Alexandria. He took a homestead there in 1870. If our homesteaders are not to be counted among the first settlers, who are? The fact that there were many trappers, speculators, and soldiers of fortune there before him as well as other early homesteaders does not detract from his honor of being one of the bona fide "first settlers." He is so regarded by all the early settlers around there. Moreover, as nothing hinges on the statement,

it is to me somewhat irrelevant to raise such a fine distinction.

Dr. Blegen quotes my statement that "immigration followed the projected survey of the Great Northern Railway which passed through Alexandria in 1878" and concludes from this that I am suffering from the delusion that there was no immigration to that region until 1878. He therefore devotes several pages to show that there were many settlers in western Minnesota in the sixties and early seventies. Perhaps I did not express myself explicitly enough. I did not mean to say that the immigration followed the *railway* but the *projected survey* of the same. This projected survey was discussed among prospective settlers for many years before the railway came and it was this that guided the bulk of the immigrants in making their selection of lands. But this does not preclude the fact that many years before the main stream of immigration rolled in there were many adventurous pioneers who settled there. I have never suppressed this fact. On the contrary, I have called more attention to this earliest settlement than anyone else. There have been published in various periodicals at least fifteen lengthy articles from my pen dealing with the early settlement of Douglas, Grant, Otter Tail, Clay, and Norman counties in which I have shown that hundreds of Norwegians settled in these counties in the sixties. These many detailed and published studies should be enough to show that I did not mean that immigration did not begin until the railroad reached Alexandria.

H. R. HOLAND

EPHRAIM, WISCONSIN

#### A NOTE ON THE SELECTION OF THE FIRST GOVERNOR OF MINNESOTA TERRITORY

Dr. William W. Folwell in his *History of Minnesota*, 1:248, calls attention to the interesting fact that President Zachary Taylor in 1849 first submitted the name of Edward W. McGaughey of Indiana to the United States Senate for the

governorship of Minnesota Territory, but was overruled by a strict party vote in that body. President Taylor next presented the name of William S. Pennington of New Jersey, who, although his appointment was confirmed by the Senate, declined to accept. Alexander Ramsey of Pennsylvania received a recess appointment and was commissioned on April 2, 1849, but the appointment was not laid before the Senate until December 21 nor consented to until January 9, 1850, many months after Ramsey had begun his career of distinguished service in Minnesota.

A curious commentary on the circumstances attending the selection of a governor for the new territory is afforded in a volume of reminiscences entitled *Notes Taken in Sixty Years*, by Richard Smith Elliott, p. 257 (St. Louis, 1883), who in 1849 as a young lawyer of St. Louis recently back from the war with Mexico made a visit to the national capital. A passage of special interest is here reprinted.

T. C. B.

Early in 1849 I made a business visit to Washington, and was at the inauguration of Zachary Taylor as President, on the 5th of March. Mr. Polk's term had expired March 4th, and Senator David R. Atchison, of Missouri, as presiding officer of the Senate, was president of the United States from 12 o'clock Saturday night till Gen. Taylor was sworn in on Monday; but our Missouri Senator did not claim the chance dignity. Col. D. D. Mitchell, of St. Louis, was tendered the Governorship of Minnesota Territory, then just organized, but declined. He only wished to be reinstated as Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis. A Mr. Pennington, of New Jersey, also refused the Governor's place. Alexander Ramsey, then of Pennsylvania, was in Washington, and I suggested to him that he had better take the Minnesota Governorship, and "grow up with the country." I may have said "go west, young man," but think not. Mr. Ramsey took the place, and the entire west knows how ably he filled it.

Most men would rather confess to wickedness than weakness. The former seems more heroic; but I am only able to acknowledge the latter. While in Washington, at Taylor's

inauguration, Col. Mitchell said to me that he would propose my appointment as Governor of Minnesota, and was very sure that I would be chosen, as he was very intimate with the President. With absurd modesty I declined. I never even thought, then, that Col. Mitchell, under whom I had served as Indian agent, might be a better judge than I of my qualifications. I have never read the "Confessions" of Jean Jacques Rousseau [sic], but doubt if he ever owned to declining as big an office as the governorship of Minnesota. Fortunately for the Territory, Ramsey had faith in himself, and the Territory did not lose anything, but probably gained. It was all a matter of destiny. Some people are born to decline office.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*Canadian Federation, its Origins and Achievement: A Study in Nation Building.* By REGINALD GEORGE TROTTER, PH. D. (Toronto and London, J. M. Dent and Sons, 1924. xiv, 348 p.)

This volume is the best short treatment of Canadian federation yet written and it is a worthy contribution to the growing list of scholarly Canadiana. "Federation," writes Professor Trotter, "was the work largely of a few men, inspired by wide political vision, actuated by economic interest, stimulated by dangers of foreign aggression." Durham's bold conception of 1838 was premature, the far-flung provinces being steeped in a provincialism which prevented a national outlook. The forties saw the working out of responsible government, the chief corner stone of the present British commonwealth. The fifties brought union well within the bounds of possibility—reciprocity with the United States stimulated economic life, railways were projected, foreign capital was attracted, and the future of the Hudson's Bay Company's vast territories engaged the attention of far-seeing statesmen. The early sixties witnessed the drifting of the French-English province of Canada (now Quebec and Ontario) into that political limbo which finally drove irreconcilables into coöperation and caused petty provincialism to make way for national unity. Events moved rapidly. In 1867 a federation of four provinces was consummated. Three years later the Hudson's Bay Company's territory was acquired. By 1871, with the admission of British Columbia, the young dominion had qualified for its present motto, *a mari usque ad mare*.

Of special interest to Minnesotans is the importance of the future ownership of the present Canadian West in this movement for political union. Canadian railways were languishing and could only be made prosperous by extension—to the Atlantic at least, but if possible to the western sea. Railway promoters in the British provinces, like Edward W. Watkin,

consequently favored federation and the speedy acquisition of the Hudson's Bay Company's preserves. To this economic urge was added the disquieting nightmare of possible American aggression. Oregon, it was recalled, had been lost by the advance of the American farmer. Minnesota was casting longing eyes on the Red River settlement. The Hudson's Bay Company's weak rule might serve as an excuse for American occupation. The Civil War raised many fears which the Fenian raids on Canada did nothing to allay. In 1866 the United States abrogated the Elgin-Marcy reciprocity treaty and Canadians, perhaps unjustly, regarded this action as a lever to promote annexation. "One may question, indeed," writes Professor Trotter, "whether success [*in federation*] could then have been achieved but for the help that came to the cause as a result of the condition of the country's external relations at that particular time." The reviewer would venture to go further—American eagerness for annexation has been, perhaps, the most potent influence in keeping the northern half of the continent British.

Professor Trotter has done a good piece of work here. We hope he will give us more.

CLARENCE W. RIFE

*Stories of Early Minnesota.* By SOLON J. BUCK, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society and professor of history in the University of Minnesota, and ELIZABETH HAWTHORN BUCK, formerly instructor in English in the University of Minnesota. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1925. x, 233 p. Illustrations, maps.)

A new volume has been added to the literature of Minnesota history. Its maps would never pass muster with the United States Geological Survey, footnotes and annotations are conspicuously lacking, some of the illustrations show striking deviations from all established rules of perspective and proportion, the diction is most unerudite, and the color of the binding is frivolously gay. But these seeming defects will endear it all the more to the readers for whom it is designed. It is the aim of the authors, apparently, to reach children of eight to ten years of age, a stage of growth at which the mental attitude of historical criticism is none too well

developed. Their chief requirement is that a book should tell a story that they can understand, and their reasonable demand has been admirably met in the little volume prepared by Dr. and Mrs. Buck.

The book is a collection of short chapters or stories dealing with various aspects of Minnesota history from the time of the first French explorations in the region, down through the period of the Sioux Outbreak of 1862. They are arranged in an order that is roughly chronological, but as the preface points out, no attempt has been made to give a connected historical narrative. The life of the Sioux Indians is discussed in the opening chapters, and through the story of White Otter much interesting information regarding Indian customs is conveyed, not by the pedantic presentation that chills so many textbooks, but by a stirring and dramatic narrative. In the further accounts of Indian warfare which are interspersed among the stories of explorers and early settlers, there is an occasional goriness of detail that an adult might be inclined to rule out, but doubtless its inclusion is justified by the fact that young children often show great relish for such vivid touches. The diction of the book is simple and natural, and difficult terms and strange words are usually explained wherever they are first used. Occasionally, as in the account of the Chippewa missions, the zeal of the historian to be accurate and detailed overrides the desire of the narrator to be clear and entertaining, and as a result a few pages bristle with dates and geographic names that are of little concern to young children. There are a few slight inaccuracies: for instance, the length of a journey taken overland on snowshoes from the Red River settlement to Prairie du Chien would be considerably less than one thousand miles, and an inaccurate impression is conveyed by the sentence, "People used the skin [*of beaver*] to make beaver hats."

The illustrations are well chosen and the explanations beneath them add greatly to their value and to the enjoyment children will get from examining them. One can imagine the pleasure that some chubby little girl will have when she reads, "This is a doll that a little Sioux girl used to play with. It hasn't any nose, but she loved it just the same." The maps are as charming as they are unusual. Each map illustrates just one incident or episode and

in order to avoid confusion, cartographical details are reduced to a minimum. Quaint little pictorial drawings are then added, to show what took place at that spot. The canoes on the Minnesota River are pitched at a precarious angle, but the pictures are very stimulating to the imagination, and convey a surprising amount of information. After studying the map of Schoolcraft's expedition, no child would be in any doubt as to the meaning of "portage."

The reviewer feels that the authors had much enjoyment in writing this little book and that the children to whom it is addressed will have equal pleasure in reading it.

MARY V. CARNEY

*The Medal of Gold: A Story of Industrial Achievement.* By WILLIAM C. EDGAR. (Minneapolis, The Bellman Company, 1925. vii, 373 p. Illustrations.)

Though Mr. Edgar has ended his notable career as editor of the *Northwestern Miller*, he has not lost his interest in the milling industry. Hence the publication of this little book. Those who are familiar with his *Story of a Grain of Wheat* will find much that is familiar in this later work. But while the earlier book dealt with milling in general, this gives us an account of the achievements of a single firm — the Washburn-Crosby Company. Beginning with an account of the "man of vision," Cadwallader C. Washburn, who founded the mills in 1866, the history of the company is related down to the present. About half of the book is devoted to the history of the period before 1890. In this the writer describes the building of the original mills, the period when Governor Washburn was an active partner, and the leasing period down to the time of the futile effort made by the English Pillsbury-Washburn Company to combine the mills with the Pillsbury group after the death of Governor Washburn. In this part of the book the author is traversing well-worn paths and there is little that is new or unfamiliar to students of Minnesota history. From chapter 8 on, however, he is covering ground that is less familiar to most of us and presenting material that should be of great interest to students of economic history. His account of the methods by which the company extended its markets — both

domestic and foreign — in chapters 9, 13, and 14, is most interesting, though one cannot help but feel that for much of the story (for instance in chapter 14 on the advertising policy of the company) the author knows a great deal more than he chooses to tell us.

The establishment of branch offices with traveling salesmen to eliminate the middlemen, the efforts to extend trade to the Latin-American countries, and the changes in exporting methods brought about by the World War are all given due consideration. This extension of markets caused an expansion of plant also, partly in Minneapolis, but to a much greater extent in other sections of the country as at Buffalo, Louisville, and Kansas City. The part played by officers of the company in the World War is properly emphasized, and all through the book there are brief biographical sketches of the men who made the company what it is. The author's conclusion illustrates his philosophy.

The thread of gold running through the fabric is not found in the material accomplishments, great although they are, not in the enduring mills solidly built, nor in the far extended trade which, based essentially on good will, has been created and developed. It lies in the human character, which, tested day after day in the round of prosaic business . . . has come through all with credit and honor. . . . With the exception of the founder, the writer knew personally all of those who contributed to the upbuilding of the company which is the subject of this book. With many of them he was on terms of personal friendship. . . . It would be natural that, in writing of them, as he has, he should accept that which is the most praiseworthy in their actions and their characters, yet he is unconscious of having spoken of them in a more laudatory manner than was just, or having praised them beyond their deserving.

No author can entirely divest himself of his prejudices. Mr. Edgar likes white bread and has nothing but contempt for the advocates of the health breads. "Those who mourn for the old process flour, as for the unattainable, and lament the lack in modern flour of the old 'nutty flavor' may find consolation in the knowledge that this delectable flavor was not imparted by the method of grinding, but by the crease dirt adhering to the wheat from the field in which it was grown and not removed by the old

process. They can easily secure the long-lost flavor which they crave by simply mixing a small quantity of ordinary earth, well powdered, with the beautiful wholesome white flour they find on the market. Street dust would answer the purpose admirably, and probably would add somewhat to the nuttiness they yearn for, or think they do." So too, perhaps one should not expect the writer to treat at length any topics which might tend to arouse criticism against old friends. One may read the book through without getting a hint that the Minneapolis millers ever gained advantage over their competitors in rival milling centers through discriminating freight rates in their favor. A single paragraph is all that is allotted to the Minneapolis Millers' Association which caused so much opposition to the local millers in the seventies. It is introduced only to bring out the fact that Governor Washburn advocated a similar pooling arrangement to build up the flour export trade. Not that the author is entirely undiscriminating in his attitude. He criticizes severely the neglect of members of the LaCroix family, who invented the purifier, after they had stood by the millers loyally in the famous purifier suits. He criticizes the sale of the Pillsbury mills and the William D. Washburn mills to the English company in 1889, and reviews with evident satisfaction the defeat of the attempt to form a flour mill trust in 1899, though the severe attacks with which he greeted the Minneapolis participants in the *Northwestern Miller* at that time are not reflected in the present account. In a few cases he criticizes some of his heroes personally. Thus, though he admires W. D. Washburn greatly, he writes the following characterization, "Dogmatic and sometimes even arrogant, he insisted always upon doing things in his own way, regardless of restraint or advice of others, and was not always easy to work with. He was an anachronism, being essentially an aristocrat in a very democratic environment."

So is our author for that matter. He is but slightly interested in the details of mechanical improvements nor does he love the dust and roar and sweat of the mills. He gives a somewhat detailed account of the strikes of 1894 and 1903, but his sympathies are wholly with the employers. He quotes approvingly a statement of John Crosby, the elder, that "he proposed to pay his men what they were worth to him." The pay must always be

generous, but the employees would always be "his men" — to the author as well as to Crosby.

Since the death of John Crosby in 1887, there have been many changes in the milling industry. A new type of mill-owner has arisen. He concerns himself very little with the mechanics of milling. He is primarily a merchant emphasizing buying and selling rather than manufacturing. Moreover large-scale enterprise cannot be watched over in its minutest details by its head as was customary in Crosby's day. The individual proprietorship has been superseded by the partnership, and that, in turn, by the corporation. The president of a large modern milling company intrusts the wheat-buying to one executive, the financing to another, the superintendence of production to another, and the selling to still another. Efficient leadership now requires one who is "able intelligently to grasp all the salient and important principles of each department, and to coördinate them to a common end and purpose, sympathetically understanding their several difficulties, yet firmly requiring efficiency in overcoming them," and, "likewise, a man of affairs, of wide vision, definite policy." Such a man must necessarily be quite removed from any close contact with the rank and file of the workers under him. Thus results one of the chief weaknesses of the present economic order — the "impersonality" of modern management. But on the other hand, the modern miller has a world outlook and a comprehension of world problems which were quite absent in the old days. Mr. Edgar speaks briefly and modestly of his fine work in securing from the millers of the nation a shipload of flour for Belgian relief in 1914. He does not mention an earlier and even more praiseworthy effort along the same line — for the relief of famine sufferers in Russia, I believe. One may hazard the opinion that the contributions of the millers were a testimonial mainly to Mr. Edgar's personal popularity and powers of leadership. Very few men connected with the industry when Mr. Edgar first joined the *Northwestern Miller* staff in 1882, seem to have had the characteristics of generosity and broadmindedness, combined with a broad world outlook, so well developed as the author of this book.

C. B. KUHLMANN

*Red River Trails.* By [GRACE FLANDRAU]. ([St. Paul, The Great Northern Railway Company, 1925.] 27 p. Illustrations, map.)

Instead of the usual calendar with which banks and other commercial bodies are accustomed to bid their patrons a Merry Christmas, the Great Northern Railroad in 1925 sent out a booklet entitled *Red River Trails*. It gives in brief compass the story of the Red River Valley from the Christmas which La Vérendrye spent on its edge to the period when it had become the granary of the world. This transformation from the "sea of waving grass" where "shaggy buffalo scattered leisurely to graze, trampling the myriad wild flowers and staining their hoofs with the wild berries that carpeted the prairie" to the modern farm lands whose poetry "must be looked for in grain elevators, chambers of commerce, model dairy farms . . . gas-driven farm machinery and prize-winning hogs" has been effected largely by railroads. Among the latter the Great Northern has not been the most inconspicuous agent for bringing to the region its present numerous, prosperous, and heterogeneous population. A map in the center of the booklet shows that several branches of this railroad follow the routes of the old cart trails—the famous Red River trails that constituted the great highway of commerce for the earliest settlers in the valley.

The facile pen of the author is responsible for not a little of the satisfaction with which one reads this pamphlet. Add the very beautiful vignettes which adorn almost every page and illustrate the text and the effective silhouette in blue and white which forms the cover, and one is disposed to believe that advertising—of such artistic quality—pays.

G. L. N.

*Pioneers of Deerwood.* By ALFRED J. CRONE. (Deerwood, [1923]. 57 p.)

In this pamphlet Mr. Crone presents short biographies of the frontiersmen who settled in his native village during the first twenty years of its existence. They came just after the building of the Northern Pacific Railroad through Crow Wing County.

while the "crude log camps of the graders were standing along the right-of-way" and the "wagon ruts were still visible on the tote-roads, paralleling the railroad." For the sketches of these pioneers he paints a common background in a brief introduction, from which the reader may gather that the story of Deerwood is that of the typical railroad village, with perhaps some interesting immigration side lights thrown in. The railroad contractors were "unusually shorthanded," according to Mr. Crone; consequently the "Railroad Company sought to overcome this labor shortage by sending special agents to northern Europe to employ men by offering free transportation and remuneration that would prove attractive to the wage earners of those countries." As a result a group of laborers from Sweden emigrated to northern Minnesota, and "among those who arrived in that shipment" were several who eventually settled in Deerwood. The railroad was followed by a surveying party, which defined the limits of Deerwood Township. And the surveying party counted among its members Robert Archibald, the "first settler of Deerwood." Immediately following the introduction is a sketch of this pioneer, who is honored by a fourteen-page biography — the longest in the pamphlet.

Mr. Crone contends that "the history of Deerwood revolves around these courageous men." Like many other writers of local history, he has been so absorbed with the characters in his drama that he has perhaps failed to sense the drama itself. His sketches, though of a somewhat conventional type, are not without value, since they are written by a man who has spent the greater part of his life in Deerwood and has known personally the men of whom he writes. Thus through the publication of this pamphlet, he is preserving some of the crude materials of history. When the writer of the drama of Deerwood appears, he will find his characters already drawn, thanks to the efforts of Mr. Crone in recording their individual stories.

B. L. H.

## MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

The fifth state historical convention is to be held on June 17 and 18 at Mankato, upon the invitation of the chamber of commerce, the Blue Earth County Historical Society, and members and friends of the state society in Mankato. It is tentatively planned that the "historic tour," to be made on the day preceding the convention, will include stops at Northfield for a luncheon and at Faribault for an evening meeting.

The most notable recent development in connection with the society's staff is the election of the superintendent, Dr. Solon J. Buck, as executive secretary of the committee on endowment of the American Historical Association. With headquarters in New York City he is to devote his time from February until September directing a campaign to raise a permanent fund of a half million dollars for the national association. The endowment committee, headed by former Senator Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana, will ask the country to give special aid to the American Historical Association, which was chartered by Congress in 1889 and has done service national in scope through publishing the *American Historical Review* and special historical works both primary and secondary in character, preserving manuscripts, giving expert historical help to the government, forwarding the archives movement, and in general coördinating American historical activity.

In a pamphlet issued by the association it is stated that the people are to be called upon not only to support these activities but also to help promote a wider program involving the furtherance of scientific study and publication in the history of American international relations, the development of the common law in America, the story of immigration and sectionalism, the growth of business, the history of agricultural and rural life and of the American family, and other important topics. Attention is called to the need for studies in the European backgrounds of American history and it is suggested that among "the possible services which the association may perform are the reproduction

of important sources in European collections and the preparation of lists and indexes locating valuable material, whether in Europe or America." Another suggested type of service is the formulation of an adequate publication policy for the national archives.

The one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of national independence will be celebrated next July. This will be a notable occasion and, no doubt, many possible memorials will be proposed. It may be questioned whether any could be more thoroughly appropriate than the setting up of a large endowment for the American Historical Association. Obviously the work that it is doing and the program that it proposes represent the highest type of history — disinterested research seeking to explain the backgrounds of our present-day life. This correlation of history with practical contemporary problems is one of the most promising movements of the age. The campaign directed by Dr. Buck deserves the cordial support of the American people and it may be predicted that if those who have money to give to worthy causes are made aware of the magnificent possibilities in the use of funds for the forwarding of history in America they will overwhelm the endowment committee and the total will be not a half million but one or two million dollars.

Four Minnesota men, three of whom are members of the society's executive council, are on the national advisory committee of the American Historical Association for the endowment campaign. They are Dr. William W. Folwell, president of the society, Mr. Ralph M. Budd of St. Paul, Mr. Herschel V. Jones of Minneapolis, and Mr. Edward C. Congdon of Duluth. Another Minnesota man, Dr. Guy Stanton Ford of the University of Minnesota, is a member of the special endowment committee. Dr. Buck has been given a leave of absence both by the University of Minnesota and by the society. During his absence from Minnesota the assistant superintendent, Dr. Theodore C. Blegen, will serve as acting superintendent. Dr. Blegen has been granted a leave of absence from Hamline University and will devote all his time to the society until next September.

At the special meeting of the society's executive council held on January 11 Mr. Ralph M. Budd of St. Paul was elected a

member of the council to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Olin D. Wheeler.

Sixty-three additions to the society's active membership were made during the three months ending December 31, 1925. The names of the new members, grouped by counties, follow:

**ANOKA:** Scott H. De Long and Mrs. J. L. Weaver of Anoka.

**BLUE EARTH:** Mrs. F. O. True of Good Thunder.

**CLAY:** Nels B. Hanson of Barnesville and Ella A. Hawkinson of Moorhead.

**DODGE:** James H. Parker of Kasson.

**HENNEPIN:** Dr. Hugh C. Arey of Excelsior; H. Louise Bailey, Dr. Ruth E. Boynton, Elting H. Comstock, Franklin M. Crosby, Levi W. Day, Joseph A. De Laittre, Henry Deutsch, Louis L. Dodge, Dr. Frederick A. Duns Moor, William A. Durst, Dewitt C. Edwards, Mrs. Jeanette E. Eitel, James H. Ellison, William H. Eustis, Evalin Ewing, William A. French, Mrs. Joseph L. Harper, Charles M. Harrington, Dr. George D. Head, Charles O. Hodgkins, Willard G. Hollis, Dr. Walter L. Hyde, E. Bird Johnson, Luther S. Oakes, Margaret O'Farrell, Peter P. Quist, F. Carleton Smith, and Nelson A. Wiff of Minneapolis; and Mrs. Charles C. Stettbacher of Osseo.

**HOUSTON:** O. K. Dahle of Spring Grove.

**OLMSTED:** Dr. Frederick L. Smith of Rochester.

**OTTER TAIL:** Dr. Olaf T. Sherping of Fergus Falls.

**RAMSEY:** Edward G. Cheyney, Mrs. Russell G. Elliott, Edward F. Flynn, Mrs. Joseph L. Forepaugh, Henry E. Gipson, John A. Lagerman, Mrs. William M. Liggett, Mrs. Clarence A. Morrow, Herbert L. Peterson, and Harry S. Thompson, all of St. Paul.

**RICE:** Nils Flaten and Gertrude M. Hilleboe of Northfield, and Charles W. Newhall of Faribault.

**ST. LOUIS:** Harold A. Carmichael and Horatio S. Newell of Duluth, and Gilmore H. Johnson of Floodwood.

**SCOTT:** Philip M. Schaefer of Jordan.

**STEARNS:** Mrs. Will H. Moos of St. Cloud.

**TRAVERSE:** Mrs. Isaac Lee of Wheaton.

**WASHINGTON:** Alpheus E. Doe of Stillwater.

WATONWAN: Mrs. James T. Reynolds of Madelia.

NONRESIDENT: Mrs. Hannah S. Davis of San Francisco, California; Louis Rask of Schenectady, New York; and Asher K. Thomas of Rapid City, South Dakota.

New subscribers to the society's publications during the last quarter are the public libraries of Luverne and Windom; the school libraries of Halstad, Red Lake Falls, Storden, and Wanamingo; and the library of the State Hospital for Crippled Children at Phalen Park, St. Paul.

The society lost eight active members by death during the quarter ending December 31: Alonzo T. Rand of Minneapolis, October 1; Frank A. Bovey of Wayzata, October 9; David F. Simpson of Minneapolis, October 11; Dr. Knut Hoegh of Minneapolis, November 1; Crawford Livingston of St. Paul, November 16; James P. Gribben of St. Paul, November 30; Luth Jaeger of Minneapolis, December 6; and Peter Broberg of New London, December 28. The death of C. M. Anderson of Minneapolis on May 26, 1925, has not previously been reported in this magazine.

Three members of the staff, the superintendent, the librarian, and the curator of manuscripts, attended the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in Ann Arbor, Michigan, from December 27 to 31. The superintendent participated in the discussion of the conference of historical societies and spoke particularly on the need of coöperation among historical societies. At a joint session of the American and the Mississippi Valley historical associations Dr. Nute read her paper on the history of the American Fur Company's fisheries on Lake Superior (see *ante*, p. 49-51). After the meeting Dr. Nute visited the Burton Historical Collection in Detroit and the manuscript division of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin at Madison. She also made brief visits in Chicago and Milwaukee in search of manuscripts or clues about manuscripts of Minnesota interest. Miss Krausnick also attended the midwinter meeting of the American Library Association at Chicago. Dr. Guy Stanton Ford, dean of the University of Minnesota graduate school and a member of the

society's executive council, was one of the speakers at a luncheon conference at the Ann Arbor meeting. His subject was "The Function of Historical Research in Relation to the Progress of the Social Sciences."

The third volume of Dr. Folwell's *History of Minnesota* is in press and is expected to be ready for distribution in a few months.

The society's log cabin, which was originally erected at the state fair grounds (see *ante*, 6: 200, 289), was taken down in December and the logs and other materials were moved to the Historical Building, where the cabin has been reerected in the East Hall of the museum, fitted with a fireplace, and supplied with pioneer furnishings. The cabin as exhibited is a vivid representation of the home background of Minnesota pioneer life in the middle fifties. It was officially opened for inspection at the annual meeting of the society on January 11. It has proved an unusually popular exhibit both for visiting school classes and for individual visitors.

Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg, senior research associate of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, spoke at the meeting of the society's executive council on October 12 on "Research and Publication Work of a State Historical Society."

The assistant superintendent has been elected managing editor of the publications of the newly organized Norwegian-American Historical Association.

Members of the staff as usual spoke before a number of organizations during the quarter ending December 31, generally on phases of the state's history or on the activities of the society. On October 7 the superintendent addressed the Meridian Club of Minneapolis on "Historical Aspects of the Growth of Minneapolis." The assistant superintendent spoke on the work of the society to the Carleton College History Club at Northfield on November 10, gave a lecture on Minnesota history in the high school curriculum before Professor August C. Krey's history teachers' class at the University of Minnesota on December 10, spoke on "Interpreting Minnesota" to the Men's Club of the Immanuel Lutheran Church of St. Paul on December 16,

and gave a talk on "Paul Bunyan" before the students of Hamline University in November. The curator of the museum discussed "The Marking of Historic Sites, with Particular Reference to the Midway District" before the North Star chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, in St. Paul on October 27; spoke on the work and needs of the society to the Minnesota chapter of the Daughters of Founders and Patriots of America, in St. Paul on November 19; and lectured at Hamline University on "The Adjustment of the Indian to White Civilization" on November 27.

The society is making an effort to complete certain files in its library and will welcome assistance from anyone who may chance to have some of the following items: the *Red Cross Bulletin* (Washington) for June 30 and August 27, 1917, and March 3 and June 23, 1919; the *Mississippi Valley Magazine* (Minneapolis) for the years from 1919 to 1925; *Kvartalskrift* for July, 1916; the *American Legion Weekly* for January 23 and 30 and February 6 and 13, 1920, December 26, 1924, and January 2 and 16, 1925; the *National Farmer* (Winona) for October, 1921; the *Labor Digest* (Minneapolis) for July, 1916; and the *Deutsche Farmer* (St. Paul) for the years 1910 to 1912 inclusive.

#### ACCESSIONS

In 1840, when the sixth United States census was taken, part of the region now known as Minnesota was included in Wisconsin Territory, and the remainder in Iowa Territory. A few years ago the returns for the area included in Wisconsin were secured in photostat form from the federal census bureau (see *ante*, 5:61). Recently it was discovered that the returns for the country south of the Minnesota River were included with those for Clayton County, Iowa, and photostats of these returns, which amount to eight pages, have now been obtained from the census bureau. They enumerate the heads of families at St. Peter's, Traverse des Sioux, Little Rock, Lac qui Parle, Lake Traverse, and Fort Snelling, and in the Lake Pepin precinct. The list includes the names of most of the earliest settlers and gives information about their ages, occupations, and schools.

The manuscripts of Fourth of July orations delivered by Hollis R. Murdock at Stillwater in 1859 and 1864, together with that of his address on the death of Lincoln, dated June 1, 1865, have been presented to the society by his daughter, Miss Alice Murdock of Stillwater.

From August 7 to September 30, 1860, a detachment of recruits were en route to Fort Vancouver from Fort Benton under the command of Major George A. H. Blake of the First United States Dragoons. An official record of this expedition, a little volume about eight by six inches in size, written in a beautiful hand and illustrated with detailed diagrams of camp sites and maps of the route followed, has been acquired recently from the Minnesota chapter of the Daughters of Founders and Patriots of America. It is not known who wrote the record.

Mr. Robert K. Boyd of Eau Claire, Wisconsin, whose recollections of the famous Birch Coulee battle are still vivid, has presented a most interesting manuscript sketch of his experiences on that occasion and an account of the misfortunes of Mrs. Augusta Krueger, who was wounded during the fight. He has added a chart giving a detailed ground plan of the corral.

That the political career of Ignatius Donnelly holds much attraction for students of Minnesota history is evident from the fact that five college theses dealing with various aspects of it are now in the society's manuscript division. The last to be added is on "The Political Career of Ignatius Donnelly, 1863-73," by Edmund A. Moore, a study written for the degree of master of arts at the University of Minnesota.

Dr. William W. Folwell has recently turned over to the society a file of archives of the board of park commissioners of Minneapolis covering the years from 1888 to 1903, a period that coincides very nearly with his service as member and president of the board. The papers include some two hundred letters and several petitions and financial statements.

From the secretary of state's office the society received in 1919 the major part of the state's noncurrent bonds for the period prior to 1912, and recently that office has turned over additions

including notarial bonds to January 1, 1918, warehousemen's bonds for the period from 1885 to 1909, commission merchants' bonds from 1899 to 1905, and old oil inspectors' bonds, together with election campaign records from 1896 to 1916, and a small file of papers of qualification for commissioners of deeds from territorial days to about 1871. From the governor's office seven file cases of old records have been received, three of which relate to relief matters, particularly to the grasshopper plague of 1875, the New Ulm cyclone of 1881, and the disastrous hail storms of 1877. The other files contain correspondence with the general land office in 1876 and 1877, data concerning the proposed Atlantic-Mississippi waterway about 1872, and papers relating to plans for improving the Red River for navigation purposes in the seventies.

Full records of a tour of the entire scene of American participation on the western front of the World War made by a group of men under the guidance of officers of the American Expeditionary Force in April, 1919, have been presented by Major Clarence B. Winter, who was one of the student group. He has also given the society copies of the papers and maps used for a staff school tour over the entire Meuse-Argonne territory from January 4 to 12, 1919. These military records constitute a valuable addition to the society's World War collection.

A collection of papers of the late George Chase Christian of Minneapolis consisting of items relating to aeronautics and of notes on the Shakespeare problem has been presented by Mrs. Christian.

Additions of importance have been made to the society's collection of ethnological materials by gifts of a comprehensive set of articles representing life among the Bontoc Igorot head-hunters of Luzon in the Philippine Islands, received from Miss Pearl Clark of St. Paul; and of a collection of *casse-têtes*, beadwork, and pottery, from the Minnesota chapter of the Daughters of Founders and Patriots of America.

A pair of snowshoes made by Massachusetts Indians and used more than a century ago by Ezra Wetherbee when a student at

Harvard University has been presented by Mr. William C. Whitney of Minneapolis.

Recent additions to the society's costume and domestic life collections include a black lace gown of 1904, silk and velvet wraps of 1890 and 1903, and a hat of 1895 from Mrs. William C. Whitney of Minneapolis; old-fashioned clothing, hats, hat-boxes, candlesticks, and many other articles from Mrs. William F. Webster and Mrs. George E. Tuttle of Minneapolis; a Swiss straw hat from Miss Theresa Erickson of St. Paul; and nine beautiful snuff boxes made of silver, gold, and tortoise shell, which are to be known as the "Dr. Alfred Wharton Collection," from Mrs. John W. Willis of St. Paul.

Additions to the numismatic collection include a large number of Philippine and oriental coins from Miss Pearl Clark of St. Paul; several modern European coins from Miss Mary E. Wheelhouse of St. Paul; and two one-dollar notes of the old Dayton Bank of St. Paul presented by Mr. D. C. Wismer of Hatfield, Pennsylvania.

A gavel made from a piece of the Washington elm and used in opening the 1925 session of the state legislature has been presented by the Honorable Mike Holm, secretary of state.

A marine uniform worn in overseas service during the World War, together with medals and other souvenirs of service in a machine gun battalion of the United States Marines, has been deposited with the society by Mr. Maurice H. Gustin of St. Paul. Other additions to the military collection include an interesting collection of revolvers, a cavalry carbine, a pike, and some other articles presented by Mrs. Mortimer M. Wheeler of St. Paul in memory of her daughter, the late Mrs. Mary E. W. Currie; and a sword carried by a Virginia ancestor of the late Captain Mortimer M. Wheeler of St. Paul and a naval pennant that floated on a gunboat in the Red River expedition of the Civil War, presented by the Minnesota chapter of the Daughters of Founders and Patriots of America.

Among valuable recent library acquisitions are ninety-four books and pamphlets relating to the United States acquired from

three European book dealers. Many are works of travel and description by German, French, and Scandinavian travelers in America, and contain material of value both for the study of the immigration movement and for general American history. An early rarity is an Italian translation of Father Louis Hennepin's *Descriptione de la Louisiane*, published in Bologna in 1686 under the title *Descrizione della Luigiana*. Attached to one of the pages of Bins de Saint-Victor's *Lettres sur les États-Unis d'Amérique écrites en 1832 et 1833* (Paris, 1835) an original manuscript letter was found, dated New York, April 20, 1832, and apparently written by the author of the book. Most of the German and French works are of general interest, without special Minnesota material, though among those of comparatively recent date some local material is included. For example, in Ernest Frignet and Edmond Carrey, *Les États du North-West et Chicago* (Paris, 1871), there is a brief chapter on Minnesota. Most of the Scandinavian works are in Swedish. Some of them, including C. D. Arfwedson's *Förenta Staterna och Canada, åren 1832, 1833 och 1834* (Stockholm, 1835), the same author's *Minnen från Europa och Amerika* (Stockholm, 1837), and Carl E. Swalander's *Tillförlitliga underrättelser om Nord-Amerikas Förenta Stater* (Gothenburg, 1853), are from a comparatively early period and are extremely valuable. Johan Schröder's *Vägvisare för emigranter till Förenta Staterna och Canada* (Stockholm, 1868) is a translation from the Norwegian; it contains an interesting chapter on Minnesota. Hugo Nisbeth's *Två år i Amerika 1872-1874* (Stockholm, 1874) appears to be of special value for the history of the Swedish immigration, and it contains much material on Minnesota. The author visited the state, and in his book he tells of a day spent visiting the Minnesota legislature, and of trips to Duluth and to other parts of the state. *Amerika sådant det är!* by Alex. Nilsson (Stockholm, 1871) contains an important discussion of the emigration and its causes. One of the books of recent date, Ester B. Nordström's *Amerikanskt: som emigrant till Amerika* (Stockholm, 1923), includes a chapter telling of the history of a Minnesota farm.

## NEWS AND COMMENT

In discussing "The Social Value of Historical Memorials" in the December *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, Dr. Joseph Schafer calls attention to Montalembert's words: "Long memories make great people."

A volume entitled *How to Read History* (New York, 1924. 259 p.), by W. Watkin Davies, deals primarily with the question of what to read in the various fields of history. A brief chapter on American history, contributed by Edwin W. Pahlow, should be of interest to readers who are being introduced to the subject for the first time.

In an article on the "History of the Calendar of Documents in the Archives of Paris Relating to the Mississippi Valley," by Mrs. N. M. Miller Surrey, in the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* for October, a survey of an important coöperative historical venture is made and the author says, "The printed calendar of the documents in the Paris archives relating to the history of the Mississippi basin, will bring to the easy use of historical students about 30,000 documents distributed through something more than 100 different series, and 10,000 different volumes that are to be found in ten different repositories in Paris."

A monograph entitled *Political Organization of the Plains Indians, with Special Reference to the Council*, by Maurice G. Smith, has been brought out by the University of Nebraska in its series of *University Studies* in a double number for January-April, 1924 (84 p.).

The published works of the late Reverend Chrysostom Verwyst are briefly reviewed in an article entitled "A Chrysostom in Chippewa," issued in the fall number of the *Indian Sentinel* (vol. 5, no. 4). In the same magazine is an account of Verwyst by the Reverend Odoric Derenthal.

An interesting and useful collection of material on the La Vérendrye expeditions, published originally in the *Quarterly of*

the Oregon Historical Society for June, 1925, has been reprinted by the Great Northern Railroad in a pamphlet entitled *The Verendrye Overland Quest of the Pacific* (64 p.). A general account of these expeditions, which "marked the beginning of modern history in all the vast region stretching westward from the upper waters of the Mississippi," is contributed by Grace Flandrau. Two important documents relating to the journeys of the La Vérendryes follow. The first is the "Journal of the First Expedition of Pierre Gaultier, Sieur de la Verendrye to the Mandan Villages on the Missouri" in the well-known translation by Douglas Brymner, and the second is the "Journal of the Voyage Made by Chevalier de la Verendrye with One of His Brothers in Search of the Western Sea, Addressed to the Marquis de Beauharnois," newly translated by Miss Anne H. Blegen of the staff of the Minnesota Historical Society. Several interesting maps and illustrations are included in the booklet, among them a "map of the approximate route of Verendrye and his sons."

An article on "The Missouri River in History" is brought out in the *Western Magazine* for December by Edmond L. DeLestry, the editor. Several interesting pictures accompany the article, including one of Governor Isaac I. Stevens and one of a steamer at old Fort Benton.

Of the writing of Paul Bunyan stories there is no end. Many of the tales are retold in an amusing and informing fashion in an article entitled "Paul Bunyan Is with Us Again," printed in the *Wisconsin Magazine* for December.

George W. Sandt's *Theodore Emanuel Schmauk* (Philadelphia, 1921. 291 p.) is a biography of an important leader among American Lutherans and throws some incidental light on church conditions in Minnesota and the Middle West.

At a meeting held at St. Olaf College, Northfield, on October 6, the Norwegian-American Historical Association was established. Its purpose is to organize historical work pertaining to the Norwegian immigration and its backgrounds and to the activities of the Norwegian element in the American population. The plans of the association involve the collection of manuscript and

printed materials as well as museum objects and a wide program of publication. It is announced that the first publication will be a volume of special studies and records and will be brought out by May or June of the present year. The new association is in a sense an outgrowth of the Norse-American Centennial celebration. It was intended to bring the society into being on that occasion, but the plan was crowded out by other events. Undoubtedly, however, the interest in Norwegian-American history aroused by the celebration led directly to the organization of the new association. It appears certain that the association will have ample funds to finance a notable series of publications.

At the annual meeting of the Swedish Historical Society of America, held in the auditorium of the Historical Building, St. Paul, on December 2, papers were read on "Educational Work among the Swedish Baptists in America," by Adolph Olson, and on "Minnesota's Campaign for Immigrants," by Theodore C. Blegen.

*Manitowoc-Gjerpen-Valders Congregations* is the title of a somewhat unusual congregational history (Decorah, Iowa, 1925. 48 p.). It deals with three Wisconsin Norwegian churches and was issued in honor of the seventy-fifth anniversary of their establishment. A number of documents illustrating the early history of the congregations are printed in full and the interest of the publication is further enhanced by several facsimiles of important papers. The pamphlet as a whole is a contribution to the history of the Norwegian element in the West. It is the work of the Reverend D. G. Ristad, president of the newly organized Norwegian-American Historical Association.

An interesting account dealing with the experiences of Norwegian settlers in Minnesota during the Sioux Outbreak, particularly those hailing from the district in Norway known as Voss, is published in *Vossingen*, vol. 7, no. 3-4.

A list of Norwegian-American monuments and markers and much information about Norwegian-American societies and organizations may be found in *Skandinavens Almanak og Kalender* for 1926 (Chicago, 1925. 191 p.).

An *Encyclopedia of South Dakota* (Pierre, 1925. 1,003 p.), which has been brought out by Doane Robinson, contains hundreds of entries arranged alphabetically and is a valuable compendium of information on various aspects of South Dakota history.

A valuable study of the early history of the French post at Green Bay appears under the title "La Baye," by Arthur C. Neville, in the *Green Bay Historical Bulletin* for April, 1925.

Two new books, a *History of Farmers' Movements in Canada*, by Louis A. Wood (Toronto, 1924. 372 p.), and *Agricultural Coöperation in Western Canada*, by W. A. Mackintosh (Kingston and Toronto, 1924. 173 p.), are of special interest for students of the "agrarian crusade," which has not by any means been confined to the United States. In both works some attention is given to the American connections.

#### GENERAL MINNESOTA ITEMS

An article entitled "The Boundary Water Way," by John P. Pritchett and Warren W. Chase, published in the issues of the *Western Magazine* for September and October, tells the story of a summer's canoe trip made by the authors over the Lake Superior-Winnipeg River waterway. Special attention is given to historical associations, of which there are many, for the route is one that was followed by many early explorers and fur-traders.

A series of historical articles that appeared in the *Washington County Post* of Stillwater in 1924 under the title "Legends and Stories from the St. Croix River," by Ruth Teare Woodworth, has been brought out as a pamphlet entitled *Old Man of the Dalles; An Autobiography* (Stillwater, 1925. 44 p.). The author dramatizes a rock formation on the St. Croix known as the "Old Man of the Dalles," which is made to tell of the varied scenes that it has witnessed from the days of the first white explorer down to the twentieth century.

Nearly twelve thousand people, representing almost every state in the Union and many foreign countries, visited the Sibley House at Mendota during the summer of 1925.

A concise description of memorials and markers established or placed by the Minnesota Daughters of the American Revolution appears in the *Year Book* of that organization for 1925.

*Fifty Memorable Years at St. Olaf* is the title of an informing illustrated pamphlet by I. F. Grose, dealing with the history of St. Olaf College (Northfield, 1925. 46 p.). The first chapter discusses the general background of the Norwegian immigrant in the United States. In the second chapter an account is given of the career of the founder of the college, Bernt Julius Muus, who came to Goodhue County in 1859 as a pioneer minister. How Muus conceived the idea of establishing a college at Northfield and how that idea came to be realized are the themes of the third chapter. The last two chapters carry the story from January 8, 1875, when the college was opened, down to the present.

A review of the progress of education for the blind in Minnesota from 1866 to the present, which appears in the *St. Paul Daily News* for November 8, dwells especially on the work accomplished by the Minnesota State School for the Blind at Faribault since it was founded in 1874 and is based upon an interview with Mr. Joseph F. Vance, the superintendent of that institution.

The arrival at Jordan fifty years ago of "four priests and four brothers" of the Franciscan Order was commemorated by the Catholics of the community on October 18. A brief history of the order in Minnesota appears in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for October 11.

The story of the mill at Edina in Hennepin County, as recalled by George Millem, "who operated it for 20 years until the water in Minnehaha creek got so low it would no longer turn the mill-wheel," is told in the *Minneapolis Journal* for October 25. With the article appear a portrait of Mr. Millem and pictures of the old mill and of the "Grange hall, where Edina farmers used to meet every week."

Some light on Minnesota's financial history is shed in James B. Forgan's *Recollections of a Busy Life* (New York, 1924. 335 p.), for one chapter is devoted to the author's connections with

the Northwestern National Bank of Minneapolis, of which he was cashier from 1888 to the end of 1891.

A survey of the memorials erected in memory of the state's World War heroes in various parts of Minnesota appears in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for November 12.

*Knute Nelson: Memorial Addresses Delivered in the United States Senate* (Washington, D. C., 1925. 44 p.) is the title of a volume containing tributes to the memory of Senator Nelson by eight senators, including Henry Cabot Lodge, Henrik Shipstead, and Magnus Johnson.

#### LOCAL HISTORY ITEMS

Notable progress in local history organization was made in Minnesota in October and November. On October 29 at Grand Marais the Cook County Historical Society was organized and at Two Harbors on November 25 the Lake County Historical Society came into being. On both occasions Mr. William E. Culkin, president of the St. Louis County Historical Society, and Judge Bert Fesler of Duluth were present, and among the speakers at the Two Harbors organization meeting was Mr. William A. McGonagle of Duluth. The St. Louis county society evinced much interest in the development of new societies in the North Shore counties and its experience under the guidance of Mr. Culkin has undoubtedly been of great practical help to the organizers of the new societies. Mr. Culkin also acted as special representative of the Minnesota Historical Society at the two meetings. The constitutions adopted were based in the main upon that recommended for county societies some years ago in this magazine (see *ante*, 4: 252-256). The president of the Cook County society is Mr. George H. Durfee of Grand Marais. Mr. Thomas Owens of Two Harbors was elected president of the Lake County society. One of the directors of the Lake County society, Mrs. R. B. Elliott of Two Harbors, represented the two societies at the annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society on January 11 and reported on local history developments in the North Shore counties. With the work well organized in St. Louis, Lake, and

Cook counties, northeastern Minnesota leads all other sections of the state in the matter of local history organization and deserves the congratulations and good wishes of all those interested in Minnesota history.

The arrival forty-five years ago of the first railroad train in Taylor's Falls, "bringing a large delegation from the Twin Cities to participate in the initial Dalles park celebration," is recalled in the *St. Paul Dispatch* for November 9.

The story of the Elstad Lutheran Church of Amherst Township in Fillmore County is told in a pamphlet bearing the title *The Three Score and Ten Anniversary Book* (1924. 20 p.). The congregation, a Norwegian Lutheran body, was organized in 1854.

The fiftieth anniversary of the First Presbyterian Church of Rochester was celebrated on December 10.

An unusually interesting contribution to Minnesota local history, brought out a few years ago, is Hallie M. Gould's *Old Clitherall's Story Book; A History of the First Settlement in Otter Tail County, Minnesota, 1865-1919* (43 p.). The pamphlet is divided into twenty-two chapters, most of which consist of first-hand accounts by early settlers.

An interesting little volume entitled *Recollections of Early Days in Duluth* (Duluth, 1925. 99 p.) has been brought out by Mr. Jerome E. Cooley, who established himself in that city in 1873 and has played in Duluth affairs ever since then the dual part of participant and observer. A mass of detailed information is incorporated in the book on various aspects of the story not only of Duluth but also of the North Shore in general.

The text of the *Historical Pageant of Lake Pepin*, held last July (see *ante*, 6: 413), is printed in the official program of that event (Lake City, 1925. 38 p.).

A portrait of the Reverend William E. Boutwell and other interesting illustrations appear in a pamphlet entitled *Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the First Presbyterian Church, Stillwater, Minnesota* (11 p.). Boutwell organized the church in 1849 and the anniversary was celebrated in December, 1924.

Portions of the reminiscences of Edward B. Drew, pioneer farmer of Winona County, are published in the *Winona Republican-Herald* for October 10, 17, and 24. The account begins with a vivid description of a trip by ox team from Indiana to Minnesota in 1852, and continues with a detailed report of conditions at Wabasha Prairie in the early fifties. The original Drew manuscript is owned by the Minnesota Historical Society.

A pamphlet on *Parks and Parkways of Minneapolis, 1925* (40 p.) contains a brief general historical sketch of the parks of Minneapolis, a special section entitled "Historical Parks," in which interesting historical connections of various parks are pointed out, and a list of statues, markers, and memorials donated to Minneapolis.

A brief review of the early history of the village of St. Anthony, with somewhat special attention to the social aspects of the life of the early settlers, is given in the December number of the *Community Bookshelf*, the organ of the Minneapolis Public Library.

An interesting brief account of "How the Automobile Came to Minneapolis," by Smith B. Hall, appears in the *Gopher-M* for January.

The history of the Hennepin Avenue Methodist Church of Minneapolis, which celebrated its fiftieth anniversary with special services on November 1 and 8, is outlined in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for November 1.

A sprightly historical account of "St. Paul: The Untamable Twin," by Grace Flandrau, appears in *The Taming of the Frontier*, a volume edited by Duncan Aikman (New York, 1925). Mrs. Flandrau sketches St. Paul history with a light hand but it is evident that she has undertaken considerable research. Her pictures of social life in St. Paul at different periods are particularly interesting. The title of the sketch illustrates the author's personal view of her subject.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of Christ Episcopal Church of St. Paul was celebrated with special services on December 6.

